Dr LINI S. MAY

IQBAL

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAR LAHO

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1877-1938

by

DR LINI S. MAY

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SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
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PREFACE

Upon my second visit to Pakistan during the summer of 1969, my publisher's editor-in-chief made this suggestion: "Why," he said while looking at the sun-filled sky, "why don't you write a book on Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl?" He took me by surprise. I had written an article on Dr Iqbāl in my student years[1] and had read his famous *Reconstruction* and some of his poetry, but never had I thought of doing a book on him. "All right," I answered after some moments of silent reflection, "I'll do it." Uncertainty came over me *en route* home. "Can I assume such a major task? Wasn't I too rash in giving my promise?" I thought. Dear reader, you hold the end result of my research in your hands.

Thank you, Mr Editor, for your suggestion and for willingly assuming the difficult task involved in the editing! Others to whom I wish to express my gratitude for their patient help in the bibliographical area are above all Messrs F. Paar[2] of the New York Public Library and M.E. Scheer of the New School Library, New York City, apart from the nameless librarians staffing the general research desk in these two and other institutions.

The encouragement given me by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, my publisher, was invaluable in launching this book!

It is by no means complete, for it deals with a man whose thought is as complex as the times in which he lived.

(Dr) L. S. May

New York City
June 1971

1. *Vide Iqbal, A Journal of the Bazm-i Iqbal,* Vol. VI (No. 3), January 1958, pp 31-60

2. This indefatigable librarian also is mentioned in the "Preface" to my earlier work, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought After 1857* (published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970).

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PART ONE

THE LIFE & TIMES OF DR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

"Unto Allah belongeth the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth and whatsoever is therein, and He is able to do all things"
(The Qur'ān, v. 120)

1

BACKGROUND

Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl was born (on 9 November 1877) during a momentous period in India's history. Only two decades earlier, the British had put down an outburst of Indian discontent, known as the "Sepoy Mutiny" or "Mutiny" or "Great Rebellion". It broke out a century after their triumph at Plassey, Bengal (on 22 June 1757), which signified their destruction of any French claims in Hind and their ensconcement in Bengal, securing rights as landlords over about 882 sq. miles in Calcutta, which city they had founded long before (in 1690). They had lost their trading claims to Bengal when attempting to seize Chittagong (1698), but were saved by their naval power. Their gains in Bengal once again were threatened by its *Nawāb*, Sirāj-ud-Daulah who took Calcutta (20 June 1756); led by Robert Clive (1725-1774),[1] Plassey's hero, they quickly recaptured Bengal's (now West Bengal's) capital. Their victory at Plassey[2] is regarded as the beginning of their rule in Bengal.

The English had come to Hind as traders sent out by the British East India Company set up (on 31 December 1600) by charter of Queen Elizabeth (*r.* 1558-1605). Why to Bharat[3]? Because it was a rich country, as first proven by the 6000% profit reaped by Vasco da Gama after dropping anchor (in 1498) at its west-coast port of Calicut, situated in Mysore State.

"There was a mad scramble for trade with India and the Indies. The Portuguese were soon followed by the Dutch, the English and the French. They established small settlements on

1. Cf. Th. B. Macaulay, *Essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings*, ed., with an introduction and notes, by Cornelia Beare (New York : 1910, Chas. E. Merrill Co.). Also J. Beauchamp, *British Imperialism in India* (London : 1934, Martin Lawrence, Ltd.).

2. They lost 65 men *versus* 500 Bengalis whose main army had remained neutralised by the *Nawāb's* minister, Mīr Ja'far.

3. Another name for India.

the west and east coasts of India, and built warehouses for their merchandise."[4]

They arrived there during the days of Mughal Empire, established by Bābur (1483-1530), a descendant of Tīmūr in the fifth generation. Having lost Farghanah and Samarqand, he entered North India, defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat (1526), thus ending the last Turkish Sultanate and making himself master over Delhi and Agra. Followed by Humāyūn (*r.* 1530-1556) ,Akbar (*r.* 1556-1605), Jahāngīr (*r.* 1605-1627), Shāh Jahān (*r.* 1628-1658, *d.* 1666), the Tāj Maḥal's builder, and Aurangzeb (*r.* 1659-1707), these "Great Mughals" were succeeded by a group of minor rulers, formally ending with the reign of Bahādur Shāh II (1837-1858). Akbar, who attempted to give India a synchretistic faith (*Dīn-i-Ilāhī*) so as to end the Hindu-Muslim squabbles, drove the Afghans out of Bengal (1576), although they would continue to invade India from time to time.[5] It also was during his reign that John Mildenhall reached *Agra* (1603) as the East India Company[6] representative. He obtained trading rights from Akbar's son (in 1608). The British furthermore won these at *Surat*, another of Hind's west-coast ports, after defeating a Portuguese fleet (in 1612), when Jahāngīr still was Bharat's emperor. Although Aurangzeb later took Surat (in 1685), he did not execute his design of expelling these foreigners with their superior navy. The *Madras* site had been given to a Britisher (in 1639), that is, during the reign of Aurangzeb's father, Shāh Jahān ; captured by the French (in 1746), it was restored to Great Britain by the Aix-La-Chapelle Treaty (1748).

Bombay Island was presented as dowry by Portugal to

4. Kumar Goshal, *The People of India* (New York : 1944, Sheridan House, Inc.), p. 71.

5. One Afghan king, Aḥmad Shāh (1747-1773) carried out nine expeditions to India during Mughal decline, resulting in his capture of Lahore (1752), Delhi (1755), Pānīpat (1761) where he defeated the Mahrattas, and the Punjab, winning over the Sikhs near Lahore (1762). The Punjab thus became part of the Afghan domains extending also into Baluchistan, Kashmir and the Meshed area in East Iran. They were lost shortly after his death.

6. Henceforth also called "the Company".

Charles II of England (in 1662), who transferred it to the East India Company. Orissa, Bihar and other regions were to follow. However, British India was in the making during the seventeenth century. Between 1612 and 1662, the East India Company posts grew from its first at Surat to nineteen, including those at Bombay and, on the east coast, at Madras and Calcutta. These posts were defended against piracy by well-trained and armed mercenary regiments.

"The Company was originally formed to traffic in luxuries of the rich: spices, precious gems, bezoar stones (antidote to poison), silks, camphor, indigo and sulphur. But from their depots in Bengal they soon began to trade in commodities of general consumption—saltpetre, muslins and textiles." [7]

It gained further concessions—partly resulting from its medical service and gifts to local dignitaries—including the exemption of customs duties on *foreign commerce* which was confirmed by a *farmān* or Mughal imperial rescript (dated 1717). This *farmān* also permitted the Company "to rent more land in Bengal and buy land in Surat".[8] Its growing land properties enabled it to make provinces out of Bengal, Bombay, Madras. The Company furthermore usurped its newly granted right by trading duty-free at first between Indian ports and then other inland cities. It also interfered in Bengal's political affairs by placing Mīr Ja'far on its throne. "The Company's demands on Mir Jafar's treasury multiplied until it was completely empty. They then unceremoniously pushed him aside."[9] They replaced him with his son-in-law, Mīr Qāsim. When this new *Nawāb* remonstrated[10] against the Company's carrying on duty-free internal trade and made it uniform throughout Bengal, he was defeated by the British who felt their monopoly threatened. Forced to pay £1,800,000 for his son-in-law's sin, Mīr Ja'far died before redeeming this colossal sum in full. Bengal's rulers had become Company puppets removed at its pleasure. The Company's justification for acting thus was the 1717 *farmān* which legitimised

7. Goshal, op. cit., p. 72.

8. Ibid., p. 79.

9. Ibid., p. 81.

10. Ibid., pp. 89-90, for the quotation of Mīr Qāsim's letter dated May 1762.

their position. "'In Bengal it placed the local government technically in the wrong. . . .' "[11]

The Indian trade not only enriched the Company, but the British Treasury, Parliament and, eventually, the Company employees. "By 1750, before the conquest of Bengal, the East India Company had grown wealthy enough to have loaned or given no less than £4,200,000 to the British Treasury. By parliamentary order (of 1767), the latter annually received £400,000 from the Company.[12] Plassey inaugurated the Indians' "systematic exploitation".[13] Bengal seemed an inexhaustible money-mine, paying for its own, Bombay's and Madras's conquests, for deficits due to the funds' misappropriation and for all other schemes; all who could dip into it while the Company's directors and owners demanded greater profits. The statistics can be amplified; for example, when Robert Clive went home for the first time (in 1760), the thirty-five-year old man of formerly humble means was worth an estimated £270,000-300,000, of which £234,000 were the "booty" received for his victory at Plassey; £27,000 covered his estate's annual income; and the rest came from gifts and private trading. Sent back (in 1765) by the Company's London-based directorate to stabilise its possessions in Hind, he understood this mandate primarily in terms of extracting still greater profits from that land. He told the directors (in a letter dated 30 September 1765) that they "'had acquired an empire'" with "'a revenue of four millions sterling, and a trade in proportion.'"[14] Two weeks earlier (on 18 September), he had contracted with the Company's not too well-paid employees so as to permit them to engage in private trade. According to him, within two years it amounted to £100,000. Since the Company felt as yet too insecure to assume *direct* possession of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Clive persuaded the Emperor (in 1765) to grant him the *dīwānī*, i.e. control over the revenue and civil administration in these provinces, promising to pay the Mughal £260,000 annually. The Company subsequently became *dīwān* (in 1771). Thus fiscal and

11. Ibid., p. 80, quoting from C.R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, "II. ii., lvii." (Cf. footnote 9, p. 361, in Goshal, op. cit.)

12. Ibid., p. 93. 13. Ibid., p. 88. 14. Ibid., p. 96.

civil control also ensued, apart from political intervention, from its trade. This meant further robbery and even enslavement.[15] The Company undersold Indian merchants in all products, including, wrote Dacca's revenue collector, Muḥammad 'Alī (in October 1762), "'tobacco, cotton, iron and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazaar (market), and then extort the money from them by force.'"[16] Dacca, which now is East Bengal's capital, had 200,000 inhabitants by Clive's time (in 1757) and "was a large manufacturing center. The value of its muslin alone amounted to $1,500,000 a year".[17] Its entire commerce "'was estimated at one crore (ten million) of rupees. . . . In 1787 the exports of Dacca muslin to England amounted to 30 lackhs (3 million) of rupees; in 1817 they had ceased altogether.'" The age-old spinning and weaving arts giving employment to so many had ended; formerly affluent families had become destitute and were forced to find employment in the villages. "'This decadence has occurred not in Dacca only, but in all districts.'"[18] Another example cited by a Sergeant Brego (in his letter dated 26 May 1762) was the prosperous Bengal district of Backergunj. He wrote that the Company did "'not . . . suffer any person to buy or sell the articles they trade in . . . and again what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that . . . this place is growing destitute of inhabitants; . . . the markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce anything of use."'[19] Another victim was Tanjore, "'formerly a place of great foreign and inland trade; it imported cotton from Bombay and Surat, raw and worked silks from Bengal, sugar, spices, &c. . . . gold, horses, elephants and timbers

15. *Vide* the Calico plantation uprisings resulting in the (1860) Indigo Commission which found the Indian plantation workers being treated as slaves. (Cf. Goshal, op. cit., p. 109.)

16. Goshal, op. cit., p. 90, quotes him.

17. Ibid., p. 74.

18. Ibid., p. 108, citing from Sir Henry Cotton writing these words in 1890, and p. 361, footnote 23, stating "Quoted by R. Palmer Dutt in *India Today*, p. 207."

19. Cited in ibid., p. 90.

from Pegu, and various articles of trade from China.'" It exported "'muslins, chintz, handkerchiefs, ginghams, various sorts of long cloths.'" Well watered by the Cavery and Coleroon Rivers, and blessed with a fertile soil, it was an opulent region. "'Such was Tanjore not many years ago,'" stated Mr Petrie in his testimony before the Committee of Secrecy (in 1782), "'but its decline has been so rapid that in many districts it would be difficult to trace the remains of its former opulence.'"[20] As Goshal observes: "By 1773, trade, manufacture and agriculture were ruined, and the inhabitants left Tanjore by the thousands in quest of a more secure abode."[21] The same situation prevailed wherever the East India Company had rooted; Hind's "'manufacturing classes in all parts of the country'" were impoverished.[22] Company income grew enormously. Land revenue in Bengal alone rose from £817,000, that is, in the last period of local administration (1764-1765), to £1,470,000 during the first year of the Company's administration (1765-1766) and then to £3,400,000 (in 1793).[23] It was collected despite the 1770 famine, wherein one-third of its population died.

"In the Fourth Report of the House of Commons, 1773, the following figures are given about the revenues and expenses of Bengal for the six years ending 1770-71: The total net revenue was £13,066,761; the total expenditure was £9,027,609; and 'clear gain,' sent to England, amounted to £4,039,152, or nearly one-third of the total."[24]

An English merchant named William Bolts wrote (about 1771): "'It may with truth be now said that the whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted . . . has been one continued scene of oppression . . . every article being produced being made a monopoly,'" the English determining its price, thereby '"defrauding . . . the poor weaver'" whose "'assent . . . is in general not necessary.'"[25] Plunder had replaced trade! Another consequence was "the terrible overpressure on land"[26]

20. Quoted in ibid., p. 95. 21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 108, again citing from H. Cotton.
23. Ibid., p. 96. 24. Ibid., p. 92.
25. William Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs, 1772*, pp. 191-94; quoted by Goshal, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
26. Goshal, op. cit., p. 109.

which continues to be a problem in Pakistan and India.

This situation did *not* change with the Industrial Revolution when "India was not only to be exploited as a market for British goods, but as a producer of raw material as well".[27]

The Company meanwhile had been warned by the English Parliament not to meddle in Bharat's internal affairs, more specifically, in the conflict between the Mahrattas and the Mughals. The former had gained the Deccan and (in 1758) occupied the Punjab. Suffering dissension, Ḥaidar 'Alī (1721-1781) among them made himself independent in Mysore (1761) and forced the British at Madras warring against him (in 1765) to sign an aid treaty with him (in 1769). They squashed the Mahrattas finally (in 1843), but their skirmishes with them already had enlarged their land holdings (since 1818). Intervention was a fact of life in seventeenth and eighteenth-century India against which Parliament objected in vain. Its objections after all were not accompanied by ending the Company's charter and holdings in Hind, as it and so many Britishers profited from commerce and trade. The Company, however, continued to pay lip service to the Mughal Emperor and his appointees in accord with parliamentary will, mirrored in one of Clive's late directives (dated 16 January 1767) addressed to it. Pointing out that its acquisition of the *dīwānī* made it "in fact" *the* political power "in these provinces," meaning Bombay, Madras and Bengal, and that the Mughal imperial authority had been reduced to a shadow, he said: "'This Name, however, this Shadow, it is indispensably necessary *we should seem to venerate*; every Mark of Distinction and Respect must be shown him.'" He furthermore warned that not only is the Company strong enough to crush "every encroachment" attempted by a foreign power, but that it must continue to pay regularly the stipend allotted to those appointed by the Mughal Emperor.[28]

27. Ibid.

28. Cited in ibid., pp. 82-83. Italics ours. The Company forces defeated the Dutch in 1759 and captured Pondicherry from the French who nevertheless retained it by the Paris Treaty (1763), but lost it again together with Mahe to the Company in 1778. The French *Compagnie des Indes* was founded in 1664 and dissolved in 1769.

Political intervention, the mad scramble for wealth, its ensuing chaotic affairs and ineffectual civil administration, all causing the Indians' sad plight as stated in oral and written testimonies, led Parliament to appoint a Select and Secret Committee (in 1772). Clive who had returned to England (in 1767) among many was cross-examined by this Committee, and exonerated if indirectly reproved. Brooding over his past activities in Bengal, the publicity they received in England, and the slur cast by Parliament over his personal conduct, he committed suicide (in 1774). The Committee's inquiry led to the 1773 Regulating Act which (1) put the East India Company partially under Parliament's control, granting it continued mercantile monopoly in India, but forbidding its directors and officers from engaging in private trade and receiving presents; (2) ordered it to submit all of its correspondence to the British Government which could veto its policies; (3) set up the office of Governor-General, appointing Bengal's Company-appointed governor (since 1772) named Warren Hastings (1732-1818) to fill it and supervise the Company's affairs; (4) instituted an advisory council of four Englishmen "representing" respectively Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the north-western region—these councillors later[29] to be Company appointees; and (5) created a Supreme Court. It, the Council, and the Governor-General were seated in Calcutta. Warren Hastings's reforms begun earlier (in 1772) also were legalised by this 1773 Regulating Act. He

(1) reformed Bengal's coinage;
(2) set up a revenue board (in 1772) granting some local control;
(3) appointed collectors in the other provinces;
(4) ended the dyarchy or Clive's instituted system of revenue collection and expenditure by Company employees aided by Indians who often were corrupted by the former;
(5) established an English-staffed civil and criminal court in every district (*parganah*);

29. The Governor-General assumed these rights until nearly the end of the nineteenth century when election procedures were introduced.

(6) transferred the opium and jute manufacture from local to Company control;
(7) cut the brigandage (dacoity) by obtaining some Indian co-operation.

These reforms affected the economic, fiscal, legal, administrative and police (military) domains. Hastings subsequently appointed the Amini Commission (1776). It favoured a central revenue committee, subsequently set up (in 1781), thereby taking local fiscal control away. Hastings had other problems: although he was the first British Government-appointed Governor-General for Bengal,[30] he had—as did his successors—no effective power over his council with whom he often quarrelled. He furthermore had to defend the Company against a Mahratta-Mysore-Hyderabad coalition.[31] He sent an expedition to Surat which, reaching there (in 1779), broke up this coalition; by the Salbai Treaty (1782), stipulating a twenty-year peace, the Mahrattas ceded Elephanta and Salsette.

Annoyed by Hastings's military activities and his extortion of money for these purposes from unwilling Indian allies, Parliament instituted two Indian committees beginning another series of inquiries (between 1781 and 1784). Hastings like Clive before him had to testify; the first Governor-General, accused of taking bribes, meddling in Indian rulers' internal affairs and of violating treaties he had made with them, was impeached (in 1788). His trial finally ended with his acquittal (1795). These parliamentary inquiries resulted in the Pitts India Bill (passed on 13 August 1784), so called after its sponsor, Prime Minister William Pitt. His Bill decreed that the Crown

(1) regulate all Company affairs;
(2) appoint a board of six commissioners to oversee its revenue, military and civil domains;
(3) take over from the Company the Governor-General's appointment, assigning Lord Cornwallis to that office

30 Bengal's Governor-General became the Governor-General of India under the 1833 Act.

31. England at the time was fighting France and Spain, while the U.S.A. had a Revolution.

(1786-1793);[32]

(4) the Governor-General to report regularly to the board under whose jurisdiction he fell;

(5) the Company to retain its trading privileges and all patronage.

The board itself was composed of the Secretary of State,[33] who was a Cabinet member, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and four privy councillors,[34] respectively, representing Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the north-western provinces.

Among Cornwallis's reforms were the payment of adequate fixed salaries to the East India Company's employees, ending their private trading activities; the dismissal of the corrupt; the substitution of Englishmen for any Indians still in Company pay; and the 1793 Permanent Settlement. Raising the local revenue collectors of a number of villages in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and (from 1795) in Benares to *zamīndār* status, on payment of a very high fixed in-perpetuity sum, these new landlords bled the farmers to death. They not only now preferred a *status quo*, from which they and the English profited, but even enriched themselves at Company expense. The cause for it was that *zamīndār* rights could be sold in case of default which led to a "no-rent" policy and its erroneous remedy known as "distraint" (1799), making impossible reliable surveys, for these were blocked by individual interests. "In 1940," that is, *two* years after Iqbāl's death and long after Company rule in India had ended, "the total rents in Bengal under the Permanent Settlement amounted to about £12,000,000, and the Government's share was about £3,000,000, at which it had been fixed long ago."[35] This system of "Permanent Settlement was utilized only where it was needed to solidify the Company's position; in the rest of the Company's

32. He succeeded John McPherson who occupied the office for twenty months and who decreed that the Governor-General has the power to overrule his council.

33. A Secretary of State for India was appointed by the Crown under the 1858 Act.

34. This number determined by the 1773 Act was changed under the 1853 Charter Act. Sind, Punjab and Kashmir still lay outside of the Company's dominions.

35. Goshal, op. cit., p. 100.

possessions in India, arrangements were later made either with *Zemindars* on a temporary basis, or with individual farmers to pay rent direct to the Government, subject to periodic reassessment of their land."[36] Wherever the 1793 Settlement was introduced, it caused the *zamīndārs* to lose all of their former magisterial and police functions which respectively were transferred to European district judges and Indian police. Cornwallis's "Code" also reshaped the judicial system after the British model; yet the courts remained few in number. All Indian personnel, mostly found in the lower echelons, were and would remain subordinate to the British. The system introduced by these first English Governor-Generals was one of British officialdom; it would last until Pakistan and India reached freedom (in 1947).

The same Lord Cornwallis who, having defeated the Mysore ruler Tīpū Sulṭān after warring against him (1790-1792), extracted half his territory "giving" it to Hyderabad's *Niẓām*, and thus contributed further to the Company's territorial expansion and the Indians' impoverishment, wrote (in his *Minute* dated 18 September 1789): "'I may safely assert that one third of the Company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.'"[37] Wars with Tīpū Sulṭān continued until his defeat, death and removal under the energetic Governor-General, Lord Wellesley (1798-1805),[38] who gained the support of Mahratta leaders and Hyderabad's ruler. He then had the Indian princes sign subsidiary alliances under which they agreed to (1) dismiss any foreign officers at their court; (2) replace their own by British regiments, whose maintenance was to be borne by the income of a section of their respective states; (3) accept English control over their international affairs. The Company in return promised to retain these dynasts and give them "external security". Wellesley then concluded the Treaty of Bassein (1802) with the Mahratta Peshwa who, during another of his kinsmen's feuds, fled to and received British asylum at Bombay. By accepting their protection, binding himself under this treaty to receive English

36. Ibid., pp. 100-01. 37. Quoted in ibid., p. 105.
38. He was the Duke of Wellington's brother.

troops in his territories and pay an annnal 26,000-rupee tribute, he signed away his independence as well as Mahratta sovereignty. He soon broke it by resuming his wars against the Company (in 1803). Wellesley was called back (in 1805) by a Parliament disliking his territorial conquests before attaining his goal of fully destroying Mahratta power. His successor, Lord Minto (1807-1813),[39] restored to them by parliamentary order most of their land. The greater part of South India nevertheless lay under Company rule. It not only possessed the "corridor" between Calcutta and Madras, but also Bengal and the entire fertile northern region between the Ganges and Jumna Rivers. The Punjab and Sind, apart from Burma, still had to be added. Lord Minto made a treaty with Sind (1808) to counter French expansionism.[40] He fixed the Sutlej River as the southern boundary of Company domains (1809) to check the Sikh confederacy's advance. The promise of its leader Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), who had united his people, established a kingdom in the Punjab and organised an army during the Mahratta-Company wars, was broken upon his death. The Company's board members meanwhile murmured regret after witnesses testified during another parliamentary inquiry (in 1813) about the abject poverty of the Indians and their mistreatment by the Company. Although it lost its mercantile monopoly in Hind, which was resented by the new industrialists clamouring for free trade, its charter was renewed for two decades under the 1813 Charter Act. This Act stated Britain's duty to be the promotion of "British India's" people's "interest and happiness" for which purpose the Company should devise plans and received (under this Act) an annual £10,000 grant to be used for the teaching of Arabic and Sanskrit. Macaulay later would reject this grant's intent. The Company interpreted the renewal as a "go-ahead" sign, for its Delhi representative, Charles Metcalfe, coolly suggested to Minto's successor, Lord Moira (1813-1823),[41] that it should continue with its conquests in Bharat to obtain

39. He was the first Earl and later was followed by the fourth Earl of Minto as India's viceroy.

40. He made treaties with Persia and Afghanistan between 1808 and 1810 for the same reason.

41. He later became Marquis of Hastings.

further "net revenues". And so it did, by defeating first the Mahratta Peshwa (1818), adding much land which allowed the growth of the hitherto small Madras Presidency. The revenue collectors' numbers also were increased ; land reassessments made from time to time were accompanied by tax rises.

The old village *Panchāyats* were destroyed and replaced by English-staffed councils wherever the Company penetrated. Its annexation of the Assam kingdom (1816) hardly preceded its expansion into Burma (since 1826),[42] which had attacked Bengal (1823), and lost out (1825). The Bay of Bengal became British by the Yandabo Treaty (1826), signed during Lord Amherst's Governor-Generalship (1823-1828). Most of Burma eventually falling under the British (in 1852), it not only was cut off the sea, but India's entire east coast became part of Company domain. Shortly after this Treaty, the Company threw off all pretence of subordination to the Mughal Emperor by omitting his name from its coinage (1827). It then declared war on Sind, lying in the Indus River Valley, for strategic reasons : to prevent its rulers from restricting navigation and to survey India's north-western frontier. Sir Charles Napier (1786-1860), who acknowledged to the Governor-General Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844) that he had no right to seize Sind, did so anyway (1843). Only two regions remained to be conquered : the Punjab and Kashmir. The right moment came when the Sikh army about 90,000 strong crossed the Sutlej River (in 1845), that is, six years after Ranjit Singh's death and during Lord Hardinge's Governor-Generalship (1844-1848).[43] After two Sikh wars (1845-1849), the Punjab was annexed (1849) and Kashmir also was acquired. Most of India, including some princely states, except for Oudh (taken in 1856),[44] lay under

42. The Burmese districts of Tenasserim and Arakan were ceded in 1826 ; the Company's complaint of its merchants' unjust treatment caused another war (1852) and the incorporation of Rangoon, Peome and Lower Burma (Pegu province). Upper Burma was not annexed until 1885 and was separated from India in 1937.

43. Not to be confused with a later (1910-1916) similarly-named viceroy.

44. Many of these states fell under Company rule by the Doctrine of Lapse passed by Governor-General Dalhousie (1848-1856).

Company rule. Hind had become a "fallen country".[45] Its people could be detained without trial under the infamous Regulating Act (of 1818), which remained in force through the earlier 1940's. New press control measures soon followed (in 1823). Those who had come to trade had stayed to rule a country lying six thousand miles distant from their homeland. Englishmen continued to replace India's officialdom and English became Hind's formal administrative and diplomatic language, and (since 1835) the instructional tongue. That few Indians were employed by the Company was offered in testimony (in 1824) by another of its officials: Mountstuart Elphinstone. His suggestion that their employment be encouraged was too progressive for his bosses.

His forward look comprised three stages: (1) that "natives" one day would serve as superintendents of a part of a district, as did the Europeans at the time; (2) " 'in a more advanced stage, they might sometimes be Registrars and Sub-Collectors, or even Collectors and Judges' "; (3) they might fill most of the civil service and the subordinate army posts, government retaining the military power.[46]

His idea was included in the 1833 Charter Act stipulating that

> " 'no native of the said territories... shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment in the said Company.' "[47]

Under this Act, issued while Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General (1828-1835), the East India Company's charter was renewed for another twenty years;[48] the local governments

45. "Neglected, mute and desolate art thou," sang the Indian Protestant poet Henry Derozio (1809-1831), "Like ruined monument on desert plain" in *The Harp of India*; the above-quoted words come from his *To India, My Native Land,* quoted in E.B. Bradley-Birt (ed.), *Poems of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, A Forgotten Anglo-Indian Poet* (Oxford: 1923, Oxford University Press), pp. 1 and 2.

46. *Vide* his *Minutes* of 1824; the above section is quoted in Goshal, op. cit., p. 114. Elphinstone later wrote a *History of India*.

47. Paras 3 and 4, Will. 4, 85; quoted also in Goshal, op. cit., p. 114.

48. The 1833 Charter Act cancelled the East India Company's monopoly on China trade.

in the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies lost their "sovereign" legislative powers, although they never had been autonomous, acting more as "collecting and spending agents of the Supreme Government which prepared the budget and controlled every penny of the public revenues of British India."[49] They neither could raise tax nor initiate any new expenditure, nor could they decide how to spend the fixed grant received from the Centre which strictly prescribed how and for what it was to be used. "The abrogation of their independent powers" was "primarily to meet the need for uniform legislation for European settlers who were distributed all over India."[50] The 1833 Act formally made Bengal's Governor-General the Governor-General of India and allowed Europeans to buy land in Hind.[51] Lord Bentinck in addition made widow-burning (*suttee*) a criminal offence (1829), outraging orthodox Hindu opinion He appointed Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), Member of Parliament since 1830, as a Law Member of his Council with duties to revise and codify the law. English now was used in courts. The 1773 Act had laid the foundations of a Western bureaucratic and autocratic Government; the pace was accelerated by the 1833 Charter. The Governor-General's powers had been widened and, although he remained subject to Parliament, he was its supreme representative in India.

Among the *cultural* developments occurring between 1780 and 1835 were the new journalistic and educational efforts. The Government had started official presses in Calcutta, Madras and other cities, but discouraged private attempts. Nevertheless, an Englishman started a private newspaper in Calcutta (in 1780),

49. P.N. Masaldan, *Evolution of Provincial Autonomy in India, 1858-1950*, With Special Reference to Uttar Pradesh (Bombay: June 1953, Hind Kitabs, Ltd.), p. 3.

50. Ibid., p. 2, text and footnote 1, for "Despatch accompanying the Government of India Act, 1833, from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Government of India, No. 44, dated the 10th December 1834."

51. Cf. S.C. Dash, *The Constitution of India* (Allahabad: 1960, Chaitanya Publishing House), pp. 11 ff.

it being Hind's first secular one.[52] A Baptist missionary named William Carey aided by some colleagues set up a printing press publishing books, including grammars and dictionaries, in Hind's vernacular tongues *and* in English at Serampore (in 1801). The first vernacular newspaper printed by missionaries then appeared (in 1818). Indians followed suit. Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), a Brahmin linguist—he read the Qur'ān in Arabic and mastered Persian—who had entered the Bengal Civil Service, was the first Indian to found and edit Persian, Bengali and English newspapers (as early as 1816).[53] He is credited with giving great impetus to journalism in Bharat.[54] Within a few years, four Indian newspapers appeared in Calcutta (by 1823). Another newspaper-man was the prominent Parsi, Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), who later participated in the Indian National Congress opening (1885) and became its president thrice; he edited the Persian fortnightly called *Rāst Guftār* ("Truth Teller," founded in 1851).[55] Also to be mentioned is Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chettu, founder of the *Crescent* (started in 1844), which was Madras's first Indian-owned newspaper. The various student clubs which began to sprout in the 1830's and 1840's also produced journals.

What about India's educational institutions since the 1780's? The Muslims continued to have their *maktabs* or "grammar schools" and *madrasahs* or "colleges" stressing Qur'ānic and Arabic studies.[56] The Hindus had their learning centres stressing Sanskrit, the language of their holy writ, the *Vedas*, and religio-philosophical studies. When many districts and towns were

52. J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, written while imprisoned in Ahmadnagar Fort between April and September 1944 (New York: 1946, The John Day Company), p. 314.

53. This is the date when the first Indian-owned newspaper appeared.

54. He founded the Brahmo Samaj or "Society of God" (in 1928), which influenced Bengal's "rising" middle class (Nehru, op. cit., p. 337).

55. Naoroji was the British Parliament's first Indian member (1892-1895) and Congress President in 1886, 1893 and 1906.

56 *Vide* my book, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857*, (Lahore: 1970, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), Chapter III: "The Orthodox Reaction," giving some details on educational views and subjects in Islamic India.

abandoned, the local school system fell in disarray so that very few children had any formal education. Added to these problems were the diminishing need for learning the oriental languages, including Persian which had been India's diplomatic language in the Mughal heydays, and the heightening pressures to learn the rulers' tongue, English. How pressing this became is stated by a young Bengali named Lal Behari Dey, whose father took him from their Burdwan village (in 1834) to find a school for him in Calcutta, enrolling him in Alexander Duff's Mission College:

> "'A knowledge of English education, he (my father) said, was necessary to enable a man to earn a competence in life. People ignorant of English no doubt got berths, but berths to which only paltry salaries were attached. He felt his want of English every day, and was therefore resolved to remedy that defect in the education of his son.'" [57]

Long before Behari Dey entered school in Calcutta, Government had opened a *madrasah* and the Hindu (Sanskrit) College respectively, for Arabic and Sanskrit studies in that city (in 1780)[58] as well as a Sanskrit College in India's holy city of Benares (Vanarasi) (in 1792).[59] Some private persons wishing to promote Western learning began to pool resources to this end. Co-operative efforts between David Hare, an English watchmaker at Calcutta, and Rammohun Roy [60] resulted in the creation of the Hindu College for English studies in that city (in 1817). William Carey then opened a Mission College at Serampore (in 1818). Rammohun Roy's request that English be taught at Calcutta's Sanskrit College was rejected by the Company which three years

57. J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth-Century Bengal* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1968, University of California Press), p. 7, for text and footnote "6. Quoted in B.T. McCully, *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (New York: 1940), p. 44." Cf also: L.B. Day, *Recollections of Alexander Duff . . . and of the Mission College which He Founded in Calcutta* (London: 1879), p. 40.

58. Warren Hastings sponsored it.

59. Lord Cornwallis sponsored it.

60. Cf. his "Letter on English Education" in his *English Works* (Calcutta: 1945-1951, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj; earlier ed. by The Panini Office, Allahabad: 1906), pp. 471-74.

later had to satisfy his and the students' demand (in 1826). Their demand reflected the changed times. "In 1823 when the Company opened a college to teach traditional studies, some Bengalis urged that European science and the English language should be taught there."[61] A few years later, Elphinstone College—patterned after Calcutta's Hindu College—began to receive subscriptions (in 1827); it took some time to be constituted with buildings, a professorate and a student body, but finally opened its doors (in 1834). Meanwhile those enrolled at Calcutta's Sanskrit College had agitated (in 1830) not only for free compulsory education, but for curricular reforms and, more specifically, for the inclusion of English. Many colleges were opened in the later decades of the nineteenth century, among them Muir College at Allahabad (in 1872). The Indians' demand for technical education resulted in the opening of the Calcutta Medical College (in 1835), Dacca Medical College also at Calcutta (in 1841), Grant Medical College at Bombay (in1845) and similar colleges at Madras (in 1852) and other cities. It was not until 1857, however, that the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, with which respectively a number of colleges became affiliated,[62] were opened. The University of Dacca opened much later (in 1921). This is the story in brief of the development of *higher* education in India during the nineteenth century. On the lower levels, the picture was less bright. Those who went to school at all mostly were found now in the learning centres opened by missionaries,[63] where they were taught the three R's and, probably during the earlier nineteenth-century decades, some English. Many in the process were converted to Christianity. That fact and the non-Islamic curriculum in these institutions and in the colleges kept most

61. Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge: 1968, Cambridge University Press), p. 17.

62. "Of the fourteen colleges affiliated to the new University at Calcutta in 1857, six were privately controlled" (Ibid., p. 18).

63. *Vide* my book, op. cit., p. 5, quoting from the Rev. Joseph Mullen's *Thoughts on Missions to India* (1825), p. 36: "The missionaries maintained 1347 Vernacular schools, 93 Boarding schools and 126 English schools for native boys." That is, by 1852, for India and Ceylon.

Muslims away from them. Among the cited reasons for the villagers' poor attendance are also the high cost of education, for many of the missionary schools were boarding schools. Another cause for the authorities' neglect of lower public instruction was the need for clerks and other sub-grades of public servants; those trained for these posts came from the rising middle classes who, if they did not live in the towns, had the money to send their children to schools there. Lal Behari Dey is a case in point. The bulk of Government funds would not flow into public education until 1870, although the grants-in-aid system established by Wood (in 1854), then Board of Control President, recognised the need for encouraging primary vernacular education.[64] By that time, not more than 3% of Hind's school-age population received any education.[65] Real results began to be visible in the late nineteenth century: "Between 1881-2 and 1901-2, there was a threefold increase in the numbers of pupils being taught in English at high schools and colleges; but in both categories, the highest rate of expansion was in the 'Private unaided' section."[66] The total of 44,060 pupils spread over 562 English secondary schools in 1881-82 jumped to 103,077 attending 696 such institutions during 1901-02.[67] Self-help on the local levels was essential to stimulate grade- and high-school attendance. Although Government increasingly acknowledged this fact, and this had been the primary aim of "Wood's Despatch" as well as London's (1870) instruction to Calcutta, the problem was hashed out anew by the (1882) Indian Education Commission. It recommended that Government give more money to the lower schools, but, above all, to encourage "local effort" in promoting public education. This was the "new" educational dogma, due to lack of funds, but also mirroring the times' trend: "In the 1870s private enterprise was already

64. *Vide* Seal, op. cit., pp. 20 and 16, where he states that it was Wood's decision to found the above-named three Universities in India.

65. Cf. Goshal, op. cit., p. 117.

66. Seal, op. cit., p. 22.

67. Ibid., p. 22, "Table 3. 'Growth of Education, Public and Private, in British India, 1881-1901.' "

sustaining much of the growth of education in Bengal."[68] However, their success again lay mostly in the immense growth of middle and high schools and their student-bodies. Similar progress was being made in western and south India. Most of them were English-style schools which had behind them the force of law. Macaulay had been responsible for it. Named Educational Adviser to the Indian Government (in 1835), he confessed his ignorance "'of either Sanskrit or Arabic'" and his preference for "'a good European library . . . worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia'".[69] As President of the Committee on Public Instruction (1834-1838), he had said:

> "'We are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; . . . that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic [which] neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have . . . any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country good English scholars; and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.'"[70]

Ergo, he advised, despite the grants allowed for instruction in Arabic and Sanskrit under the 1813 Act, that English and a Western curriculum respectively be adopted as Hind's language and pattern of public instruction, "for the natives are desirous to be taught English".[71] He correctly appraised Bharat's middle- and high-class opinion as mirrored by the opening of English higher institutions with private funds and the insistence of students at other places that English be included in their study programmes. Macaulay's suggestion reflecting the Government's intention (since 1829) was incorporated in his (February 1835) *Minute* and formally laid down in the (19 July 1854) Educational

68. Ibid., p. 21.

69 Quoted, amongst others, in Ramsay Muir (ed.), *The Making of British India, 1756-1858* (Manchester : 1923, Manchester University Press), p. 299.

70 Cf. his *Minute on Education*, quoted (in part) in *Sources of Indian Tradition* (Wm. T. de Bary, *et al.*, ed.), (New York : 1938, Columbia University Press), pp. 596-601 ; p. 601 for the above quotation. It is also found in his *Prose and Poetry, Selections* (Harvard University Press, 1952).

71. *Minute*, in ibid., p. 601.

Dispatch which fixed India's educational pattern and basically continued in force there and in Pakistan (after August 1947).[72] It raised a storm not only among Indians opposed to the liberal reforms, but also among Western orientalists[73] The Muslims particularly took it hard, as they considered it—like the Brahmins—a blow to their age-old system; English education of the type suggested by Macaulay is secular and does not permit stress on religious studies so fundamental to carry on the tradition and family obligations. It took them some time to adjust for which an eminent Indian Muslim, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-1898), was responsible.[74]

India was changing in his time. During his earlier years, travel with England and inland, respectively, was facilitated by the opening of a regular steamship service via the Suez overland route (in 1843 under Ellenborough[75]) and the laying of Hind's first railroad (in 1853); the mileage opened to traffic rose from 4000 (by 1869) to 24,000 (in the 1890's). Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) was responsible for the railroads' start. He also is credited with fostering India's national educational system. It was, in fact, during his term that another inquiry into it was made (in 1853) and the 1853 Charter act was issued. The Governor-General's Council was enlarged by adding six Englishmen, including a Law and some *ad-hoc* members. These European councillors "asked questions about the executive government, they discussed it and even criticised it. This tendency of the [Legislative] Council disturbed its author, Sir Charles Wood, who said, 'I do not look upon it, as some of the young Indians do, as the nucleus and the

72. *Vide* the sections on "Education" in Pakistan's Five-Year Plans with their stress on the creation of technical institutions, universities, etc.

73. Sir William Jones (1764-1794), who came to Calcutta (in 1784) as a Supreme Court Judge being a linguist and scholarl earned in Sanskrit, translating many works into English as well as writing a *Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771), was responsible for acquainting the European public with Hind's masterpieces. He founded the Asiatic Society (after 1784), later called The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

74. *Vide* my book, op. cit., Ch. II: "The Growth of Modernism in Indo-Islamic Thought," for his life, works and educational activities.

75. England had been buying up the shares on the Suez Canal.

beginning of a constitutional Parliament of India."[76] To relieve the Governor-General, this Act furthermore permitted Bengal's administration by a Lieutenant-Governor to replace a Chief Commissioner, appointed in newly-acquired territory, whenever it was enlarged. Appointments to the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.),[77] the inner and highest governmental body with its elite well-paid and pensioned employees, were taken away from the Company and "opened" to public competition. The 1854 Act allowed the Governor-General to change the Provinces' boundaries and provide for their administration. When, for example, the Punjab was annexed at the start of Dalhousie's term, a Chief Commissioner supervised it; a Lieutenant-Governor took over when Delhi, detached from the North-Western Provinces, was added to the former Sikh kingdom.[78] Lord Dalhousie furthermore rejected the subsidiary alliances made with the princes by Lord Wellesley. His "Doctrine of Lapse" enabled him to annex a large number of private states, including the smaller Jhansi and Sattara and the larger Nagpur and Oudh, thereby enlarging British India by another 150,000 sq. miles [79]

There were other changes in India while Sir Sayyid grew into maturity. The export of raw materials rose sharply: that of sheeps' wool, for example, rose from 3.7 thousand pounds (in 1833) to 2.7 million pounds (in 1844); that of raw cotton increased from 9 million pounds (in 1813) to 88 million pounds (in 1844), etc.[80] Her own industry being destroyed, Hind already had

76. Dash, op. cit., p. 11. text and footnote "2. Quoted in the *Advanced History of India* by Dr. R.C. Mazumdar and others at p. 850" (Calcutta: 1950, Macmillan & Co).

77. The term "Civil Service" first was used by the Company to designate its civilian employees and was in current usage since 1765. Lord Wellesley had set up a college at Calcutta in 1800 to train its future servants; a similar institution was founded at Haileybury, England, in 1805.

78. Cf. Masaldan, op. cit., p. 2.

79. This policy was retracted under Viceroy Canning. Although the name "British India" strictly excludes these princely territories, the Government interfered in their internal affairs. Oudh's annexation (1856) particularly angered the Indians.

80. Goshal, op. cit., p. 110.

become England's "'agricultural farm'".By the time that Iqbāl was born (e.g. by 1873), at least 45-50% of Bharat's population depended only on agriculture for their livelihood; that percentage increased to 61.1 (by 1891) and in a decade to 66.5 (in 1901).[81] Yet, no more than 30% of the arable land was used, while the per-acre yield prior to the recent "Green Revolution" remained low, due to lack of irrigation works, caused by British economic policies.[82] The farmers' poverty was induced by high land revenue payments apart from their need for cultivation capital, causing them to fall into ever deeper debt with the moneylenders.

"'The mortgage that was rare in the days of the Sikh,' wrote M.L. Darling about Punjab in 1925, 'appeared in every village, and by 1878 seven per cent of the Province was pledged. ... By 1880 the unequal fight between the peasant proprietor and the moneylender had ended in a crushing victory for the latter.... For the next thirty years the moneylender ... multiplied and prospered exceedingly.' The estimated total indebtedness of the peasantry of India was £225 million in 1911, £450 million in 1922, £675 million in 1931, and £1,350 in 1937."[83]

These statistics show an immense growth in the farmers' debt load during Iqbāl's entire life. While large numbers of Indians continued to return to the land and impoverished, a small segment among these returnees enriched themselves. Climbing uphill, they joined the new middle classes among whom also were found an increasing number of college- or university-educated professionals, some completing their training at Oxford, Cambridge or elsewhere in Europe. This broadened their vision. Learning from their conqueror his political ideology and technique, they soon adopted them. Those at Hindu College not only agitated for free compulsory education, etc., but also for restrictions on the East India Company's political power. Student clubs such as the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, formed at Calcutta (in 1838) and whose members numbering 200 by 1843

81. Ibid., p. 137.

82. Ibid., Chapter 2, "Rich Land, Poor People" (pp. 136-52) for details.

83. Ibid., pp. 143-44, quoting from M.L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (Oxford University Press, 1947, no place of publication given), p. 208.

included Debendranath Tagore,[84] and the Students' Literary and Scientific Society opened at Bombay's Elphinstone College (in 1848) drew many politicians. Although few Muslims belonged to them as the majority among them had not accepted the New Learning,[85] some nevertheless did or rose through the ranks in spite of lacking such a modern education. The latter group included Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-1898), who broke with the Mughal court upon his father's death (in 1839) and entered Company service, rising to Judge. Having taken his two sons to Cambridge (in 1870), and then visiting Paris, he decided upon his return to India (late in 1870) to help its Muslims catch up by founding Aligarh College (1875),[86] which combined the Muslims with an English curriculum.

Faḍlul Ḥaqq,[87] belonging to the earlier Indo-Muslim generation gaining the new education, as did Sir Sayyid's sons, received his Master of Arts and Law degrees from Calcutta's prestigious Presidency College (in 1895).[88] Apart from the student clubs, where papers were read, debates were held and which were not only culturally but also politically oriented, India had other organisations which were motivated by economic and then by political interests. Among the first type were the Zamindars' (later called the Landholders') Society of Bengal (dated from 1837). After having approached the British India Society in London (in 1839),[89] it

84. He was Rabindranath Tagore's father.

85. Poverty among those in East Bengal, for example, also was a reason for their absence from the schools. In Bengal's Burdwan division, where there were "fewer Muslims . . . they filled seven per cent of all school places; in Midnapore district they had a fair *per capita* proportion of scholars" (Seal, op. cit., p. 60, text and footnote "1. RDPT (Bengal) 1883-4, pp. 149-50"). The statistics seem to indicate that this is truer of the 1880's on than before; then only youths from well-to-do families attended the middle schools in larger numbers than previously.

86. Becoming a university in 1922, it has educated many Muslims and fostered a modernist viewpoint, often labelled "The Aligarh School".

87. He was born into a family of Barisal lawyers at Dacca. He returned to Barisal to teach law in its local college and then aid in his father's law practice. He eventually went back to Calcutta (in 1900).

88. Not to be confused with a similarly-named college at Madras.

89. It was replaced by the East India Society founded at London on 1 October 1866.

appointed (in 1843) Mr George Thompson as its agent there. Invited by one of the *zamīndārs*, Debendranath Tagore, to visit his bosses at Calcutta, Thompson lectured at its Hindu College on agitation, political rights and justice for all, and advocated the creation of an organisation promoting these principles.[90] His suggestion generated the Bengal British India Society whose members were "'upper middle class men sympathizing strongly with the condition of the ryots'."[91] Reflecting a local rather than a national focus, these two competing organisations were the forerunners of the British Indian Association[92] founded by two Parsi alumni from Elphinstone College (on 29 October 1851) at Calcutta. It demanded amongst others the Indians' inclusion in the Legislative Council which was not indicated in the 1833 Charter Act. One of its offshoots was the Madras Native Association.[93] These were the first political organisations respectively in West and South India.[94] Their aim spelled out by the B.I.A. was "'the friendly cooperation of all persons anxious to promote the good of India . . . without respect of caste, creed and place of birth or rank in society'. It would be law-abiding and constitutional."[95] They were individualistic as they lacked a strong coordinating centre. Although Hindu-led, Muslim landlords were

90. Seal, op. cit., p 199, text and footnote "2. See R. J Mitter (ed.), *The Speeches of George Thompson* (Calcutta, 1895)".

91. According to Kissory Chandra Mitra's 1870 statement; cf. Seal, op. cit., p. 199, text and footnote "4. *Eighteenth Annual General Meeting of the British Indian Association*, 31 March 1870, pp 7-8. B.I.A."

92. Henceforth called the B.I.A.; "by 1854 it was connected with the Rangpur Landlords' Association and the Indigo Planters' Association. In 1860 a branch was set up in Sibpur, a suburb of Howrah; in 1862 another at Hooghly and another at Barasat. But by 1870, of the Association's five branches Mymensingh alone showed any life" (Seal, op. cit., pp 207-08 and corresponding footnotes citing the respective B.I.A. reports).

93. The M N.A. nearly died in 1868, but was revived much later.

94. The Deccan Association, possibly an offshoot of the B.I.A., was "still-born; . . . its records have not survived. See D B. Majumdar, *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature* (1818-1917) (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 38-9." Seal, op. cit., pp. 197-98, footnote 2

95. Seal, op. cit., p. 199, text and footnote "3. *The Bengal Hurkaru*, 24 April, 1843, quoted in Majumdar, *History of Political Thought*, pp. 172-3."

members of the B.I.A to defend their rights and the "Settlement" against East Bengal's predominantly Muslim peasantry. Had these two groups joined hands, "the issue of tenant right might have become a Muslim cause".[96]

"There were no Muslims on the committees of the Landholders' Society, the British India Society and the British Indian Association in its early years. But on the deputation of the British Indian Association to Lytton in 1879, for example, there were three: Nawabs Amir Ali, Ahmed Ali and Mir Mohamed Ali."[97]

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān meanwhile had set up his British India Association at Aligarh (in 1866)[98] demanding greater Government concern for and Indian participation in their country's administration.[99] Other political organisations sprouting in the nineteenth century's third quarter were: the Indian League (1875), the Indian Association (*circa* 1875), the National Muhammadan Association (1877), the Indian National Congress (1885), and the Muhammadan Defence Association (1889). The Indian League was founded by Sisir Kumar Ghose as a rival[100] to the B.I.A., a specific example thereof being its favouring against the latter rejecting Sir Richard Temple's proposal "to give Calcutta municipality an elective system".[101] With its five-rupee annual sub-

96. Ibid., p. 308

97. Ibid., p. 308, footnote 1. Lord Lytton then was India's Viceroy (1876-1880).

98. His transfer to Benares where he remained for two years (1867-1869) ended his first political Association. It had more of a national than his second Association's Muslim focus.

99. The East India Society at London also aimed at having national appeal. Its membership mostly lived in Hind. A Bombay branch was organised in 1869. Lacking appeal in the Madras and Bengal Presidencies, it too perished. From 628 members towards its first year's end its membership fell to 73 by 1881 (Seal, op. cit., respectively, pp. 246-47 and 248).

100. Seal, op. cit., p. 213, text and footnote "5. Sisir admitted the League had been formed by a sort of coup" (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30 September 1875)."

101. Ibid., p. 213, footnote 6, stating that about "2000 people" attended the League's convention held at the Town Hall *versus* 200-300 present at the B.I.A. meeting (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 February 1876). Sir Richard was then Bombay's Governor.

scription, it aimed at a broad appeal, hoping "to represent not only 'the middle classes' but the masses also; to 'stimulate the sense of nationalism among the people'; and to encourage political education."[102] Ghose's League soon was eclipsed by the Indian Association formed by some British India Association members who had set up the Students Association (in 1875). That younger well-educated Indians had become politically conscious by that time was evident from that Association's first twenty-six-man executive committee, eleven of whom were degreed men,[103] from the fact that Sayyid Amīr 'Alī (1849-1928) was only twenty-eight when he with other young Musalmans founded the first Indo-Muslim political organ: the National Muhammadan Association,[104] and from other contemporary evidence. In view of the omnipresent students' political interests, a Banuka tax collector's complaint (of 1884) may be cited, viz. that "'the younger class of natives here, and more specially the boys in the schools, evince more interest on political subjects than is good for them. . . .'"[105] The force of student on adult opinion also was noted by Chittagong's Commissioner, Henry Cotton, who "reminded his fellow officials that 'the current of public opinion among the educated natives of Bengal is in this division, as well as elsewhere, largely swayed by the views held by the student class, and often even by boys still at school.'"[106] (Six-year old Iqbāl just hod begun his primary education.) Amīr 'Alī's and Sir Sayyid's later Muhammadan Defence Association

102. Ibid., p. 213, text and footnote "9. *Sadharani*, 17 August 1875, quoted in J.C. Bagal, *History of the Indian Association 1876-1951* (Calcutta, n.d.?1953), pp. 7-8."

103. Ten had attended college in Calcutta; one had gone to Cambridge. Cf. Seal, op. cit., p. 215, citing also the *Hindoo Patriot*, 31 July 1876.

104. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad rejected it for fear that it would harden further the British attitude toward India's Muslims.

105. Seal, op. cit., p. 217, text and footnote "5. Annual General Report, Burdwan Division, 1884-5, dated 3 July 1885, *ibid.*, September 1885, vol. 2476."

106 Ibid., p. 217, text and footnote "6. Annual General Report, Chittagong Division, 1883-4, dated 26 June 1884, *ibid.*, August 1884, vol. 2226."

(1889) showed three tendencies: (1) India's Muslims had cultivated a politically conscious leadership; (2) they preferred to have and be their own spokesmen; (3) they thereby rejected the Hindu organisations' ideal of unifying and representing all Indians irrespective of their creed, meaning the exclusion of religion from politics. It would not work despite Muslim membership in the Indian National Congress, which national Hindu political organisation founded in 1885 would be characterised by Jawaharlal Nehru as "a bourgeois organisation (I wish it was more socialistic)."[107] The earlier Muslim Associations would be replaced by the All-India Muslim League (founded in 1906), regarding itself to be Muslim India's exclusive spokesman.[108] The earlier Associations nevertheless stimulated national political interest, urged that Indians become more directly involved in the administration, and were the conduits through which complaints of exclusion from the highest Civil Service grades and scientific services, criticisms of Acts and rules, and demands for agitation to gain desired ends were channelled. They foreshadowed the tone of Islamic and Hindu India's twentieth-century debates.[109]

Although the elite then and later preferred debate to military action, Indians rebelled. The Sepoy[110] Uprising began in 1857,[111] when a regiment attached to the Bengal Army's[112] 34th Native Infantry stationed near Meerut mutinied on rumours

107. The Congress replaced the older Hindu organisation in strength and importance.

108. J Nehru in his letter addressed to The Marquis of Lothian dated Badenweiler, 17 January 1936. Reproduced in *A Bunch of Old Letters Written Mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and Some Written by Him* (London: 1958, Asia Publishing House), 1st Indian Edition, 1958 (Asia House, Bombay); 1st British Edition, 1960, consulted, pp. 140-54. The statement cited in text above is found on p 151.

109. Communalism played an important role.

110. *Sipāhī*, Persian for "soldier," whence the word "sepoy" was derived.

111. It started according to official consensus with the first European's death on 10 May 1857, the first shot having been fired on 29 March.

112. Its name is a misnomer, because its mainly Hindu recruits mostly came from Oudh.

that the cartridges handled by them were smeared with cow or pig fat, forbidden by Hinduism venerating the cow and by Islam prohibiting pork. It spread to various cities, including Lucknow and Meerut, and gained civil support in many regions, e.g. in the North-West Provinces, Bihar including the Patna division, Central India, Oudh. *Bengal* was a special case: it had been the governmental centre for a century; from it radiated all kinds of reforms, while its modern-minded Hindu literati gave further impetus to educational innovations there and across the land. The Bengali *zamīndārs* furthermore profited from the English administration, and having great power over the debt-loaded peasantry,[113] not only kept them quiet, but obtained from them bullocks, carts, etc., needed by Government to move men and goods.[114] The *Punjabis* had been disarmed upon annexation, thereby preventing them from joining in the revolt. In such states as *Hyderabad* and *Nagpur*, the disaffected populations were restrained by their pro-English rulers.[115] Among the many causes for the 1857 Revolt were: (1) foreign rule; (2) a fully centralised administration with tight reins held by the East India Company and the Governor-General in all administrative, legislative and fiscal affairs so that there was, indeed, total central control; (3) taxation without representation; (4) subordinate positions for most Indians in Civil Service and in the professions and, hence, violation of their political rights as they had no say in their country's government and destiny; (5) Indian anger at imprisonment without defence; (6) Dalhousie's high-handed Lapse Doctrine; (7) student agitation for the loosening of Company rule; (8) Government-encouraged attempts to christianise Indians: the 1832 Bengal Regulation that neither "civil rights" nor property would be lost in case of conversion was extended to all of British India under a 1850 Act; (9) girls' education

113. The debt problem began much earlier in Bengal than in the Punjab for obvious reasons.

114. *Vide* J. B. North, *Topics for Indian Statesmen* (ed. G.R. Norton), (London: 1858), p. 53, and *The Indian Field*, 12 February 1859, respectively, for the assertion of Bengal disloyalty and loyalty.

115. Cf. my book, op. cit., pp. 12 ff., for "The Sepoys and India's Population"; also footnote 104, pp. 361-62 for Hyderabad.

opposed by Indian conservatives: 347 day and 102 boarding schools for girls were opened by the missionaries;[116] (10) Hindu resentment at interferences with other mentioned practices such as widow-burning and child marriage;[117] (11) westernisation of education and their life-modes accepted by the progressives and denounced by the conservatives; (12) last, but not least, the Indian Muslims' loss of their administrative, judicial and professional posts resulting in their decline. The English take-over and the resultant application of English law, for example, deprived the Muslim judges (*qāḍīs*) of their livelihood: of 240 men passing the "fitness tests" for High Court Pleader between 1852 and 1868, only one was a Muslim and 239 were Hindus.[118] The story was the same for all other endeavours. Muslim India's lapse had its roots in the Britishers' distrust of the former ruling class whom they replaced. It was stated bluntly, if indirectly, by an English Quaker who became Aligarh's principal (in 1883) during evidence which he gave before the Public Services Commission (on 30 December 1886): "'It must be remembered that Mahomedans ruled this part of India for five centuries, and are not prepared to accept a position of political insignificance.'"[119] This Englishman shared the viewpoint of his Government which further explains why, contrary to all evidence, they blamed the Muslims for inciting the Mutiny. Their accusation also had racial overtones. The Musalmans' decline (as stated) further was caused by their objections to an education devoid of a religious base. As regards more generally the question of participation in

116. *Vide* Rev. J. Mullens, *Thoughts on Missions to India* (Serampur Mission Press, 1825) quoted in my book, op. cit., p. 5.

117. The marriage age was raised from age 10 to 12 in 1891; Hindu widows' remarriage, forbidden under old Hindu law, was legalised in 1856. Rammohun Roy had tried to abolish child marriage, as well as the Muslim custom of *purdah* in 1828 A later reformer, Swami D. Saraswati (1824-1883), agreed that there was no basis for *suttee* and child marriage in the *Vedas* (*vide* his *In Defence of Hindu Women*, quoted in *Sources*, op. cit., pp. 581-84, taken from his *English Works*).

118. *Vide* W W. Hunter, *The Indian Mussalmans* (Calcutta: 1945, The Comrade Publishers, reprint of the 1876 edn.), pp. 163-64.

119. Seal, op. cit., p. 323, text and footnote "1. *P.S.C* (*North-western Provinces and Oudh*), II, section 2, pp 38-9."

Hind's administration, as late as "1857 there were, in the Company's employ, only some 256 Indians drawing a salary of £360 a year or over, and 2,590 in various subordinate grades."[120] Violating the guarantee of the 1833 Act that properly qualified Indians should not be barred from Company service, Governor-General Lytton explained the reason for their exclusion in his (1878) Confidential Minute:

"'Under the terms of the Act . . . every such native, if once admitted to Government employment, . . . is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts in that service. We all know that these claims and expectations *never* can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course. . . . Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me . . . unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they have uttered to the ear.'"[121]

He raised, as did others, the issues of political morality and British ambivalence. He agreed with some, but not all of his countrymen including M. Elphinstone, that India would be chained forever. All these causes and others which offended the sensibility of Indians whom the British regarded inferior to themselves provoked the Mutiny. It formally ended when the British flag arose over the Mughal palace at Delhi (on 19 September 1858). A shocked parliament ended the East India Company rule[122] and India now passed to the British Crown. The Mughal era beginning in 1526 also drew to a close.[123]

Queen Victoria (*b.* 1817; *r.* 1837-1901) asked her Prime Minister, Lord Derby, to write a proclamation (dated 1 November 1858). Read to about 200 million Indians in all their major towns, it repeated the 1833 Act's promise that "our subjects . . . of whatever race or creed freely be admitted to office in our

120. Goshal, op. cit., p. 114.

121. Quoted in ibid , pp. 114-15.

122. Its charter had expired in 1853 under the 1833 Act.

123. Bahādur Shāh (d. 1862) was banished, implying the removal of the Mughal symbol.

service". It also asked that they obey the British authorities.[124] This proclamation affirmed the nature of Crown administration: *it would not be essentially a horizontal or consultative*, but a vertical or non-consultative relationship[125] conveyed by such words as "authority," "subjects," "obedience".

Under the 1858 Act for the Better Government of India, (1) Hind's Governor-General was given the title of Viceroy, carried by the first Crown appointee, Lord Canning (1856-1862); (2) the office of the Secretary of State for India, to be a Cabinet member and to reside in England, was set up; its occupant to whom the Viceroy was directly responsible, himself, was subject to Parliamentary will; (3) the Viceroy had the right to promulgate ordinances having force of law for six months; (4) the administration of the provinces was further developed: they were enlarged, their boundaries were changed, sliced into districts and these, in turn, into subdivisions, supervised by various ranks of administrators headed by provincial governors, subordinate to the Viceroy; (5) the Civil Service appointments, which had been competitive since 1853, were regulated.

The next important reforms were embodied in the 1861 Indian Councils Act. It represents the first attempt since 1833 to reintroduce some degree of consultative government by restoring the "Sovereign" powers (lost in 1833) to Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies and authorising the Governor-General to extend its provisions to other provinces. Accordingly, legislatures including some Indians were set up in Bengal (1862), North-Western Provinces (1886), the Punjab and Burma (1897).

"The provincial Legislative Councils were constituted by the addition to the Governors' (Executive) Council of four to eight *ad hoc* members, of whom at least half were to be non-officials nominated by the Governor for a period of two years, and the Advocate-General."[126]

124. For its text, *vide*, for instance, *A Collection of Extracts from Royal Proclamations, Official Reports and Speeches*, published by Government of India Printing Office, New Delhi, n.d., p. 7, in ibid. for this quotation.

125. Despite the 1861 Councils Act, given in the section immediately following.

126. Masaldan, op. cit., p. 4.

These councils, however, could not legislate on such issues as taxes, public debt and foreign relations without the Governor-General's permission; they could not vote down or amend any laws passed by the Centre or by Parliament; all bills which they approved needed the Governor-General's and, finally, imperial assent. Although they were given powers to frame laws for "the peace and good government" in their respective provinces, full provincial autonomy never was given. Her Majesty's Government furthermore had pledged (in the 1858 Proclamation) that it would "respect the rights, dignity, and honour of the Native Princes as our own," as well as the treaties made with them by the Company. Despite these promises and its two (1862) *sanads*, respectively covering Muslim and Hindu princes, and repudiating particularly Wellesley's Lapse Doctrine, it remained true to Canning's 1860 words that these measures would not prevent it from directly interfering in the affairs of the princely States when necessary.[127] And so it did. Whatever autonomy these "protected" enclaves had excluded military and international affairs. Among the reforms occurring in the earlier 1860's were the reorganisation of the Police, British Superintendents being placed over District forces (in 1861),[128] the revision of the Penal Code began by Macaulay,[129] finally taking effect (in 1862), the introduction of an income-tax to meet the heavy debt left in 1859, of licence imposts and a paper currency. Agricultural experiments and forest conservation as well as famine prevention and sanitation measures were introduced; sanitation boards were set up in each presidency (in 1864). The 1859 Tenancy Act, defining more clearly the landlord-tenant relationship formulated in the 1793 Permanent Settlement, met with fierce opposition. Apart from affirming equitable and fair rents, it based occupancy on a twelve-year uninterrupted landownership which, under the earlier Settlement and the consequent "distraint" policy preventing correct land surveys as well as for lack of village records, could not be proven.

127. Cf. Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, *The Indian States and Indian Federation* (London: 1942, Cambridge University Press), p. 61, for the above statement.

128. Goshal, op. cit., p. 127.

129. Ibid.

The *zamīndārs'* powers were cut by limiting their "prescriptive rights" and their rent shares diminished. These were sapped further by a rule (in 1870) that they had to bear local improvement costs by paying land taxes, hitherto not levied. Not only did the British India Association reject what it considered to be the violation of the Permanent Settlement's "covenanted mercies," but one of its founders, Uttarpara's *zamīndār* Joykissen Mukherjee (1801-1888), insisting (in 1871) that "'nothing important in this age can be achieved without agitation,' urged it to 'agitate! Agitate!! Agitate!!!'"[130] Their pleas fell on deaf ears; the agricultural situation did not get any better, as the Pabna riots (1873) against the *zamīndārs*—not against the British—showed. Some among the "agricultural classes" having grown prosperous, they began to oppose the landlords. "'The ryots have learnt,'" wrote a Bengali (in 1879), "'how great is their power and are ready at the slightest pretext to form a combination.'"[131] None of these agricultural groups gained any sympathy either from the Government of India or from the British business men and planters who invaded India in the 1860's. Forbidden from bearing arms permitted only to British artillery, the Indians were held at bay by Her Majesty's Government intent on keeping its Empire in Bharat (since 1857). It was aided by the upper-level British-staffed Indian Civil Service whose main preoccupation centred on carrying out the daily administration. The Indians' militancy for the time being was expressed via agitation, petitions, testimonials, and public debates. Their "infant" political associations led their struggle for economic, social, political and administrative reforms. Since its foundation (in 1851), the British India Association had been in the forefront, demanding not only the Permanent Settlement's extention, but an end to the salt monopoly (in 1855), a Commission of Inquiry to investi-

130. Seal, op. cit., p. 211, text and footnote "3. Nineteenth Annual General Meeting of the British India Association, 24 February 1871, pp. 12-13. B.I.A."

131. Ibid., p. 211, text and footnote "2. Annual General Report 1677-8, dated 1 July 1879, Rajshahi and Cooch Behar Division, *ibid*. September 1879, vol 1306."

gate the Indigo riots (1860),[132] the scrapping of the Native Marriage Bill (1869),[133] court reforms, improvement of the status of the legal profession, the admission of more Indians to the Viceroy's Legislative Council,[134] their inclusion in the covenanted I.C.S. which ought to reserve a number of posts for them[135] and schedule exams not only in England, but also in Hind (requested in 1856 and 1860).[136] The reduction in the age limit of those sitting for the examinations first to twenty-one (in 1865) and later to nineteen (in 1877) aroused bitter protests resulting in testimonials to London. These measures were regarded by Indians as deliberate efforts to exclude them from the I.C.S. The Indian Association[137] founded (in 1876) by one of its short-term frustrated servants, Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1926), a Calcutta University graduate,[138] joined the B.I.A. and other Associations in their efforts to gain admittance to the I.C.S., usually denied even to those who successfully passed the entrance exams. The Civil Service struggle, symbolising the Indians' growing desire for participation in that body concerned with administration of their land may well have been an important factor in the rise of their nationalism. The kernel is embedded in a B.I.A. (1856) petition for " 'a constitutional legislature,' " viz that Hind's people, " 'although slow to agitate or make any organized resistance, are deeply sensible of

132. The B.I.A. set up a relief fund in the same year.

133. Its petition's exact date is 23 May 1869.

134. The Government's offer of scholarships to nine Indians permiting them to study for the admission exams in England (in 1868) was withdrawn upon the India Council's pressure (in 1869). Its 1870 Act allowing their appointment to the covenanted I.C.S. followed by various new rules (in 1872, 1875, for example) had little effect.

135. There were only seven Indian candidates for the I.C.S. in 1870, two by 1880; they numbered twenty-one out of nine hundred thirty-nine members in 1892.

136. Cf. Seal, op. cit., p. 201, for these dates and sources.

137. Its headquarters were at Calcutta, but branches were set up in India's main cities.

138. He was dismissed on a minor charge. Cf. Sir S. Banerjea, *A Nation in the Making* (London: 1925, H. Milford Co), particularly p. 44 for the Indians' feelings on the lowering of the age for the competitive examinations.

the value of *political* freedom'."[139]

These problems plaguing India were complicated by the growing antagonisms between the Hindus who mostly led the above-cited movements. Since 1757, Company policies had ruined many ancient Muslim families, by expropriating their landlords, taking away their toll levies, army and civil, legal and other posts. "By the later nineteenth century most of the land was owned by Hindus."[140] Very few Muslim youths in proportion to Hindus attended English schools[141] so that they could not compete with the latter for jobs in the lower levels of the administration. Their reduction among the professional classes has been cited. This explains why their leaders opposed competitive examinations for the I.C.S. Representative of Muslim opinion on this issue was a Rae Bareli (Muslim) district judge's assertion that "'there is not sufficient homogeniety of the Indian population to render an open competitive examination desirable.'" He pointed out the reason for it: "'the various sections of the population in each province have reached varying educational standards.'"[142] Sir Sayyid further annotated this problem: "'our country is not fit for the competitive examinations: there is marked disparity in the educational attainments of various people—Muslims are educationally backward. . . .'"[143] His own aim was threefold: to

139. Seal, op. cit , pp. 200-01, for the text and p. 201 for footnote: "1. Petition of the British India Association to Parliament, 8 April 1856, and Fifth Annual Report of the British India Association, 1856, p. 5. B.I.A." Italics ours.

140. Ibid , p. 301. Although the reference is to Bengal, where they were in the majority, it can be applied to the whole of India. The 1828 Resumption proceedings also were responsible for impoverishing many Muslim families. *Vide* W.W. Hunter, op. cit., p. 177; also cited by Seal, op. cit., p. 301, footnote 2.

141. F. Haq who became an articled clerk to the Calcutta High Court lawyer, A. Mookerjee, entered politics in 1906, became Assistant Registrar of the Rural Co-operative Societies (by 1908) and is regarded as typical of a modern politician.

142. Seal, op. cit., p. 323, text and footnote 4 referring to "*PSC* (*North-western Provinces and Oudh*), II, section 2, p. 132."

143 "Syed Ahmed's speech before the second Muslim Educational Conference, Lucknow," quoted in R. Gopal, *Indian Muslims. A Political History* (*1858-1947*), (Bombay, 1959), p. 66.

have them catch up educationally (as stated), for he was aware that their traditional learning system was useless in British India; to gain their "'material and political advancement'" and to give "'a double impetus to their political development'."[144] That is why he opened Aligarh (in 1875), started his political associations which also was motivated by giving them a Muslim leadership, and set up his Muhammadan Educational Conference (in 1886),[145] a year after the Hindus had opened their Indian National Congress. Another problem besetting India's Muslims was the Hindus' clamour for Urdu's replacement by Hindi and for the use of the Devanagari instead of the Arabic script. Their agitation starting in Benares (in 1867) caused a hardening of Hindu-Muslim attitudes (by 1870) and bore fruit, for Hindi then came to be used in Bihar's law courts, and in the Central Provinces' lower government offices (in 1873).[146]

Such factors indicated India's lack of unity, despite Muslim membership in various Hindu organisations, including the Indian National Congress. Such a course was advocated by Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906), an English-educated Bombay barrister, the Anjuman-i-Islam's founder (Bombay, 1876) and, himself, president of the third Congress (at Madras, 1887).[147] He maintained that: "For Muslims the 'proper course is to join the

144. Seal, op cit., p 332, text and footnote "1. Amir Ali to Tyabji, 27 November 1887. Tyabji Papers."

145. Amīr 'Alī's assurance: "Our main object is to bring about some degree of solidarity among the disintegrated masses of Mahomedan society; to reconcile in some measure the conflicting aims and objects of different sections and parties . . . ," their "self-development" and "to safeguard our legitimate and constitutional interests under the British Government" did not satisfy Tyabji. Cf. ibid., p. 332, text and footnote "2. Amir Ali to Tyabji, 5 January 1888 Tyabji Papers." Neither did it apparently please Sir Sayyid.

146. This agitation was begun by Fateh Chand and was supported by two Lucknow pleaders: Munshi Har Govind Dayal and Sri Ram, who founded the Kayastha Conference in 1886, which held its yearly meetings from November 1887 (*vide* ibid., pp. 325-26, and p. 326 for footnote 1).

147. He was elected to Bombay's Municipal Corporation, 1873-1883, to its Legislative Council, 1882-1886, founded the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885, and became Judge of Bombay High Court in 1895. *Vide* ibid., p. 385, for this biographical note.

Congress and take part in its deliberations from our own peculiar standpoint'."[148] Four reasons accounted for his view: (1) Congress's own "major premise" that it would deal with questions affecting *all* groups in India; (2) his opposition to any Muslim organisation chiefly founded to rival Congress, because this would mean a political power struggle between them rather than the former being a true representative of Muslim India (despite Amīr 'Alī's assurances to the contrary); (3) his desire to bring a broader Muslim segment more directly into the political arena; and (4) to effect some co-operation and harmony between them and the Hindus. Tyabji obviously saw Congress as Hind's principal political organisation, at least for the time being; its acceptance as such by the British Government, in which he was correct; Muslim membership in it as Islamic India's desire for unity as well as their recognition that, by joining this Hindu body, it would act also as their spokesman and safeguard their particular interests.[149] Many Muslims did not see it this way, did not join or gave up their membership in Congress when they became disillusioned about its indifference toward Islamic India's specific needs, and then founded another political organisation of their own.

While Muslims deliberated among themselves on how to dampen Hindu hostility, improve their brothers' lot, gain Government aid therefor, and whether or not Congress would and could represent Muslim India and the discordant notes thus would be dissolved, the Government of India continued to enact various rules and Acts. Among these, the 1877 Act, issued under Lord Lytton's governor-generalship (1876-1880) in the year of Queen Victoria's elevation by Parliament to India's Empress[150] and

148. ibid., p. 332, text and footnote "4. Tyabji to Amir Ali, 3 December 1887. Tyabji Papers."

149. Seventy-nine Muslim delegates were present at the Congress Madras session. Tyabji hoped that those keeping aloof came from " 'a particular part of India' " and did so for " 'certain special and local temporary causes' " (ibid., p. 333, text and footnote "1. *I.N.C.* 1887, p. 72").

150. Disraeli whose conservative ministry had taken office for the second time (21 February 1874—22 April 1880) was responsible for it through the Royal Titles Bill issued in 1876. The proclamation was issued on 1 January 1877.

that of Iqbāl's birth, deserves mentioning. It permitted the transfer of excise, land revenue, stamps and other services totalling over 20% of India's total revenues not under Central Government to the provinces. For the first time, they were responsible for financing education, medical services (except for medical institutions), civil buildings, roads, police, jails and registration.[151] All provinces shared with the Central Government on a fifty-fifty basis "any increase or decrease in the yield from these revenue heads."[152] Imperial grants were given to those provinces suffering deficits.[153] Furthermore, separate contracts with variations depending on each case were made with each. Greater "elasticity" thus entered, which was stimulated further by the 1882 financial reforms. Since the earlier system did not prevent an end to the deficits, which grew instead, "a third kind of revenue head, the Divided, now enters the Indian budget. The chief heads to be thus divided were land revenue, excise, income-tax, stamps and registration. From these the Provinces derived the bulk of their total revenues."[154] Not only had they greater freedom to develop those services under their immediate supervision, but this reform's effect also "was to bring Central and Provincial finance 'into greater unison,' with a wider basis and" still "greater elasticity for the latter."[155]

Hind's population by then (as of 1881) had reached about 250 million, of whom about 19.7% were Muslims.[156]

This was the India into which Muḥammad Iqbāl was born and grew up: an India torn by caste, by Hindu-Muslim antago-

151. Masaldan, op. cit., p. 5.

152. Ibid., p. 6.

153. Only Madras preferred the 1871 arrangements. Lord Mayo's resolution granting financial decentralisation (dated 14 December 1870) only was effective between 1871 and 1872. It never was legalised so that Hind's revenues remained under British Government control. Lord Mayo was India's Governor-General between 1869 and 1872. He was assassinated on 8 February 1872.

154. Masaldan, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

155. Ibid., p. 7

156. Cf. P.K. Wattal, *The Population Problem in India, A Census Study* (Bombay : 1934, Bennett, Coleman & Co., Ltd.), p. 92, for this figure.

nisms sharpened by the rise of Arya Samaj (in 1875) representing Hindu extremism,[157] (torn by) divided loyalties among Muslims and Hindus to the older and the newer culture, to or against the British, an India within which had germinated the longing to be free and which had borne modern-type Muslim and Hindu political organisations and where the Muslims had lost their former power, glory, properties, and lust for life. They had sympathy neither from the British who were responsible for the Muslim decadence in Bengal and throughout India nor from the Hindus. Their lot and apathy stirred the deepest strings in Iqbāl's sensitive soul. He, therefore, decided early that he would dedicate his life to their improvement.[158] His thought, which is permeated by cultural and political nationalism, mirrors the discontent and dream of his age. That dream was FREEDOM! He picked up his pen to wrench it for the Indian Musulmans. When, tired out, he laid it down (in 1938); they were about to receive it (in 1947)!!

Each period in Iqbāl's life contains such significant happenings that they must be delineated in order to understand better the genesis and substance of his thought.

157. The "Society of the Aryans" was far less "liberal" than the Brahmo Samaj (set up in 1828).

158. Iqbāl's *Asrār-i-Khudi* and other masterpieces aimed at his coreligionists' uplifting.

2

IQBĀL'S CHILDHOOD AND EARLY STUDENT YEARS (1877-1899)

Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl's birthplace is Sialkot, Punjab. He was born into a middle-class family with roots in Kashmir two years after the modernist Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān had founded Aligarh (in 1875) to give India's Muslims a higher modern education, with an Islamic base, to prepare them for participation in their country's government and to stem the tide of their economic deprivation. These fundamental reasons also caused his co-operation policy with the British. Iqbāl spent his infancy in growing, questioning, playing, amidst a loving family. Of Muslim denomination, he was taught the precepts revealed by Allah to Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam (571-632)—after whom he, like so many Muslim boys, was named—in the Qur'ān, and the Prophet's Way (*Sunnah*), illumined by his Sayings (*Ḥadīth*). He learned the rites, among them the five daily prayers recited in the mosque, fasting[1] in the month of Ramaḍān to celebrate the Qur'ān's revelation, the stipulation to pay an alms-tax (*Zakāt*)[2] to aid the needy.[3] Love for his own religion, for the Prophet and for his people was sown into the sensitive boy during the first years of his life. These flowed into each other and, soon, it was

1. Muslims must abstain from food and liquids between dawn and sunset; they eat at night.

2. It covers one-fortieth of a Muslim's annual income.

3. The *Ḥajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca, Muḥammad's city of birth, once in life is another stipulation binding on all except those who do not have the financial resources to bear the expenses of the journey. It occurs on the 9th day of Dhi'l-Ḥijjah (the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar), changing yearly because the Islamic—like the Jewish—calendar is lunar. The *Ḥajj* is not to be confused with the *'Umrah* undertaken by a pilgrim to Mecca any time during the year.

time for him to go to school. As he entered grammar school at his birthplace, voices for representative government became louder in India. They were then voices in the wind.

"The rare debates at Westminster on Indian questions, with hardly a dozen members in attendance, made a mockery of Parliamentary control. *Indian nationalists appealed to the busy heart of England in vain.*"[4]

An outstanding politician named Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917)[5] urged his countrymen that "if we only speak out loud enough, and persistently enough, to reach that busy heart, we shall not speak in vain."[6] Among the journalists and politicians who heeded his advice were Motilal Ghose (1847-1922), Kristodas Pal (1838-1884), Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925), Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) and Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950).

Motilal Ghose, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, published in Calcutta, had demanded "A Parliament for India" as early as 1870.[7]

Kristodas Pal, Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, had observed (in 1874):

"'Our attention should . . . be directed to Home Rule for India, to the introduction of constitutional Government for India in India. . . . *Home Rule for India ought to be our cry, and it* ought to be based upon the same constitutional basis that is recognized in the Colonies.'"[8]

Surendranath Banerjea, a former member (1871-1874) of

4. S R. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* (New York : 1965, Fred. A. Praeger), p. 25. Italics ours.

5. He was the first Indian member of the British Parliament (1892-1895) and thrice the President of the Indian National Congress (in 1886, 1893 and 1906).

6 *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji* (1910), p. 2. Its first edition is dated Bombay : 1887, Caxton Printing Works.

7. Mehrotta, op. cit., p 30, and footnote "7. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, September 1 and 8 ; November 10, 1870." The term "Dominion Status" was not used until 1919.

8 Ibid , pp. 30 and 31 for text of quotation and footnote 1, p. 31 : "1. *Hindoo Patriot*, August 24, 1874". K. Pal was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1872-1882) and the Imperial Legislative Council (1883-1884).

the Indian Civil Service, stated some years later (in 1880):

"'The question of representative government looms in the not far-off distance. Educated India is beginning to feel that the time has come when some measure of self-government must be conceded to the people of this country. . . .'"[9]

Bipin Chandra Pal, Editor of a monthly journal called *New India* and the only one in this group *who was born a year after* the Mutiny, stated (in 1887) that he welcomed the British Government in India

"'because I know that without the help and tuition of this Government my people shall never be able to rise to their legitimate place in the commonwealth of civilized nations; because I am convinced that there is no other government on the face of the earth which so much favours the growth of infant nationalities, and under which the germs of popular Government can so vigorously grow as under the British Government. . . . *I am loyal to the British Government, because I love self-government.*'"[10]

Two years before B.C. Pal wrote these words, Hindu "dissidents" had taken the initiative in founding their Congress. Dissatisfied with the 1853 Charter and feeling the need for a single, strong and national organisation to act as Hind's spokesman, they hoped that this new body might bring together groups with differing interests and act as a deliberative, a consultative and even a constitutional organ. Its founders and members knew well from past experience the negative nature of their dialogue with the British Covernment. They also realised that they had no choice but to agree upon a partnership with it in Bharat's administration in order to salvage Indian honour. It was a practical solution also taught by the indisputable facts that the British had quelled the 1857 "Rebellion" and were Hind's masters. This equally explains why Sir Sayyid and other Muslims, like many Hindus, preferred co-operation with the foreigners, for which later generations have criticised them. The added severe reason was, as stated, the foreign rulers' dislike of and disinterest in the

9. Ibid., p. 31, and footnote "2. R.C. Palit (ed.), *Speeches* by Babu Surendranath Banerjea, 1876-1880 (1894), vol. i, p. 224".

10. Ibid., p. 32, text and footnote "2. B C. Pal, *The National Congress* (1887), p. 9". Italics ours. The British particularly considered *New India* a dangerous organ of "sedition".

Muslims and their problems! There was the further hope that, by proving the latter's loyalty, they might enter into a more positive dialogue with the rulers who, then, might become their protectors against Hindu aggressiveness. Iqbāl was eight years old when the Congress was set up. Although some of his coreligionists were members of it, their number even in its earliest years was disappointing. Those who joined accepted it as a *national* representative body, thereby subscribing to the secular political idea, to its policies and its methods.

Despite the nature of the earlier Congress as "a dignified debating society"[11] and the its members' characterisation as able men, loyal to the Crown,[12] moderate and reasonable,[13] Congress acted as a critic of British policy in India. Among its chief demands were: reform of the legislative councils and the Secretary of State's Council, more Indians in the Governor's and Viceroy's executive councils as well as in the civil service, commissions for Indians in the military, the separation of the judicial from the executive organs, the removal of race distinctions for judicial qualifications, a stabler land revenue system, increased education grants and periodic investigations into Hind's administration.[14] This was not a mean list of demands which, however, were inherited from earlier days. They reflect little change in British policy during Iqbāl's earlier childhood

11. Ibid., p. 18.

12. Ibid., p. 18, footnote "2. Dufferin to Kimberly, April 26, 1886, Dufferin Papers, vol. 19, No. 17."

13. Ibid., p. 18, footnote "5. Lansdowne to Cross, January 28, 1891, Lansdowne Papers, MSS. Eur. D.558/IX/III, No. 5". Lord Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, the fifth Marquis of Lansdowne (1845-1927), was India's Under-Secretary (1880) and Viceroy (1888-1894). His last post was that of Foreign Secretary (1900-1905) (*vide* ibid., p. 18, footnote 4). Richard Assheton, first Viscount Cross (1823-1914), was Secretary of State for India (1886-1892). He was replaced by Lord John Wodehouse, first Earl of Kimberley (1826-1902), becoming Secretary of State for India for a third time (1892-1894; his previous terms covered 1882-1885 and 1886).

14. Ibid., p. 18, footnote 1 for this list. Cf. the Ilbert Bill, called after its sponsor Sir Courtenay Ilbert (in 1883) which aimed at removing the race barrier in the judicial arena. The British community in India so fiercely opposed it that it had to be withdrawn (cf. ibid., p. 49, footnote 1).

years.[15] It came after he already had entered school and in the wake of Congress's founding with Lord Dufferin's suggestion to the Home Government (made in 1886) that the legislative councils be enlarged by adding representatives elected by public and local bodies and that they be given larger discussion powers. These two suggestions aimed at reforming them by broadening their membership and thus make them somewhat more "representative" undoubtedly were in answer to Congress pressures. They were incorporated in the 1892 Indian Councils Act. It increased the Bombay and Madras Councils by adding between eight and twenty members; allowed the Governor-General to increase likewise those in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces with up to fifteen to twenty men; introduced indirectly the representation principle. Such local bodies as municipalities and district boards as well as such interest groups as chambers of commerce, landholders' societies and universties were appointed as Council members to make "laws and regulations".[16] These councils for the first time could ask questions "under rules". With the Viceroy's and Secretary of State's prior assent in Council, they now could repeal or amend any law, pertinent to their province, "made by other authority".[17] Although these local elective councils, small at first, would play a major role in the reshaping of the socio-political framework, thereby limiting somewhat paternalistic bureaucracy, their development at first was uncertain. They still could be moulded by the British by the time that twenty-two-years old Iqbāl had received his Master of Arts (in 1899). India's population now stood at about 283 million, of whom *circa* 60 million were Muslims. Among them was a new Muslim middle class many of whose children were bred either at Aligarh, at some other Indian or even at a European university, and which was imbued with a

15. Except for those in the fiscal realm.

16. S.C. Dash, *The Constitution of India* (Allahabad : 1960, Chaitanya Publishing House), p. 18.

17. P N. Masaldan, *Evolution of Provincial Autonomy in India, 1858-1950,* With Special Reference to Uttar Pradesh (Bombay : June 1953, Hind Kitabs, Ltd.), p. 7. *Vide* the 1892 Indian Councils Act, particularly Section 1,Subsection 2.

society" and with the Englishman's slow reaction to Indian demands was annotated by S. Banerjea in his first presidential speech before Congress (in 1895),[22] in which he pleaded with England

"'gradually to change the character of her rule in India, to liberalize it, to shift its foundations, to adapt it to the newly-developed environments of the country and that people, *so that, in the fullness of time, India may find its place in the great confederacy* of free States, English in their origin, English in their character, English in their institutions, rejoicing in their permanent and indissoluble union with England, a glory to the mother-country, an honour to the human race.'"[23]

By 1889, Muḥammad Iqbāl had grown into a teen-ager and entered a school of higher learning (*madrasah*). His generation read the earlier and contemporary nineteenth-century literature much of which was incendiary: those journals published while they were in school or college, the newspapers, Congress reports, and also based their opinion on their immediate reaction to local events which they witnessed personally and which affected them directly. By the time they graduated, they had become very familiar with the cries of their compatriots[24] for equality and self-government, in which they joined, as well as with the British reaction thereto.

The foreign authorities obviously did not view India's patriotic outbursts with favour. Hamilton observed:

"'One of the greatest mistakes that ever was made was the issue in the Proclamation annexing India of the principle that perfect equality was to exist, so far as all appointments were concerned, between European and Native.'"[25]

One lone dissenter had been Henry Cotton who, in his book *New India* (published in 1885)—widely read by the Indian intelli-

22. He again served as Congress President in 1902, and, finally, became a minister in Bengal's Government (1921-1923).

23. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 32, text and footnote "4. *Report to the Eleventh Indian National Congress*, 1895, p. 51." Italics ours.

24. Used in the general sense of "Indian".

25. Mehrotta, op. cit, p. 28, text and footnote "4. Hamilton to Curzon, May 17, 1900," Curzon Papers, "MSS. Eur. F.111/159, No. 33." By the 1833 Charter Act, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and the 1882 Act.

gentsia—had suggested the application of the principles of self-government, equality and federation to India. He wrote:

"'The emancipation of India has become inevitable ever since a system of English education was established, and the principle of political equality accepted. It is now merely a matter of time.'"[26]

Another had been Lord Dufferin who (in November 1888) had suggested that the election principle be introduced in India. "'You cannot apply constitutional principles to a conquered country,'" he wrote, "'inasmuch as self-government and submission to a foreign Sovereign are incompatible terms.'"[27] He, therefore, agreed with a statement made much earlier (in 1818) by Lord Hastings, viz. "'a time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country and from which she cannot at present recede.'"[28] His "ablest lieutenant, Thomas Munro," added (in his 1824 Minute) that "'it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn.'"[29] A third English "prophet" of India's emancipation, Henry Lawrence, advised (in 1844):

"'We cannot expect to hold India forever. Let us so conduct ourselves . . . as, when the connexion ceases, it may do so not with convulsions but with mutual esteem and affection and that England may then have in India a noble ally, enlightened and brought into the scale of nations under her guidance and fostering care.'"[30]

26. Cotton, op. cit., p. 108, as quoted by Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 31.

27. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 29, text and footnote "1. Dufferin to Cross, October 20, 1889, Cross Papers, MSS Eur. E.243/25, No 115."

28. R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem, Report on the Constitutional Problem* (London/New York: 1944, Oxford University Press), p. 18, footnote "1. Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings (London, 1858), ii, 326."

29. Quoted in ibid., p. 18, text and footnote "2. R. Muir, *The Making of British India* (Manchester, 1923), 285."

30. Quoted in ibid., p. 18, text and footnote "3. *Essays* (London, 1859), 59-60, quoted by J. L. Morison, *Lawrence of Lucknow* (London, 1934), 57."

Lord Curzon did not see it this way. He bewailed the number of Indians in the I.C.S. despite their totalling not more than twenty in 1900.[31] He felt that the large number of "natives" who were passing the English examinations constituted " 'the greatest peril with which our administration is confronted.' "[32] Hamilton, Curzon and many other British statesmen of their time, except for the Lords Bright, Ripon and Gladstone, damned the introduction into India of the " 'free press, civil courts, literary education, competitive examination as the test of a man's ability for higher office . . . and sundry other evils.' "[33] As resentment filled the Indian air, Curzon wrote to Hamilton in England (in November 1900) : " 'My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise.' "[34] He could not have been farther from the truth. He apparently failed to see or feared what Messrs Dufferin, Ripon and Lytton saw, namely, "that what was afoot in India was not simply discontent of the old sort but political change of a quite new kind. Yet the official mind among their advisers on the whole rejected the suggestion that "there were changes inside an Indian Nation."[35] Fundamental was its people's insistence loudly voiced by their politicians, journalists and others drawn partly from the approximate eight thousand university graduates in Hind,[36] that they had the right to participate in

31. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 28, footnote 2.

32. Ibid., p. 28, text and footnote "3. Curzon to Hamilton, April 23, 1900, Curzon Papers, MSS. Eur.F.111/159. No. 24."

33. Ibid., p. 29, text and footnote "4. Hamilton to Curzon, January 9, 1901," Curzon Papers, "MSS. Eur.F.111/160, No. 3."

34. Ibid., p. 30, text and footnote "3. Curzon to Hamilton, November 18, 1900, Curzon Papers, MSS. Eur.F.111/159, No. 72."

35. Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge: 1968, Cambridge University Press), p. 191.

36. Cf. Dufferin's Minute on the Congress, dated November 1888, found in India Public Letters, Vol. 9 (1888); also quoted by C.H. Philips (ed.), *The Evolution of India and Pakistan 1858 to 1947. Select Documents* (London: 1962), p. 144 (quoted partly in Seal, op. cit., pp. 191-92, where Dufferin states, in "his farewell speech at the Saint Andrew's Dinner on 30 November" 1888, that India's university graduates already totalled between "seven or eight thousand". (Cf. Seal, op. cit., p. 191, footnote 1 for above source.)

their country's government. They saw the denial of it as a non-recognition of their political status as citizens. This issue remained primary during the rest of the nineteenth century and shaped the debates' substance as it subsequently brought forth more radical voices insisting on freedom as well as dissent on the form and achievement mode of *svaraj*. Younger Hindus in particular became dissatisfied, considering Congress methods, it not its policy at first, too soft. The Muslims who had not fully accepted Congress as their spokesman, remained discontent. Freedom to them had an even deeper meaning : to gain whatever recognition the Hindus received from the Government of India, to rise in the economic scale, and to be free from Hindu assaults in their work, where the competition was and would remain fierce, and in their religious, cultural and social life.

While the debates about the Indians' rights were stirring controversy, Iqbāl had attended and completed his primary education. The schoolboy's talents had been noticed by his teachers who recommended that he be given a scholarship enabling him to continue with his studies. As Iqbāl's parents were not well-to-do, he accepted this aid and entered Murray College, also situated at Sialkot (1889-1893). It was patterned partly after the Muslim *madrasah* or Muslim institution of higher learning. One of his teachers at this College was Maulvī Sayyid Mīr Ḥasan, an ardent follower of the modernist Sir Sayyid. Mīr Ḥasan's doctrine, summarised in one single sentence, was : Divine unity ; man's unity. Both theses are Qur'ānic.[37] The second had political application to the Indian environment, that is, to Hindu-Muslim unity *versus* communalism or separatism. For the time being, Iqbāl subscribed to unity, although it is not unlikely that contemporary events led him to reflect on and even question it in his youth. Having completed his high-school studies and having passed his Intermediate exam, he left Sialkot and registered

37. The Holy Qur'ān (tr. and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali), (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), sūrah cxii : Ikhlās or "Purity (of the Faith)" ; cf. iv. 102 *et al.* on the doctrine of Divine Unity ; re. man's unity, *vide* ii. 213 ; xxxix. 41, *et al.*

at Lahore's Oriental College (1893-1897). He had mastered the three R's, English, Arabic necessary to read the Qur'ān and Persian[38] which to an educated Indian Muslim had a cultural value equal to French for many non-French-born Europeans. He later became fluent in these three languages, apart from his native tongue Urdu, and would write a major portion of his works in Persian. He had grasped the meaning of the Qur'ān's teachings and had acquired a background in Islamic history, its political institutions and its legal tradition. He must have been an avid reader, interested in books and in learning which continued throughout his life. Endowed with a good mind and a fine memory, he earned various scholarships allowing him to finish high school and enter college. About the time that he came to Lahore, the Punjab's capital and educational centre, the moderates in Congress were losing control. The growing influence upon it (since 1893) by such Hindu extremists as Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), who had split with liberalist compatriots in 1890, caused Sir Sayyid to found the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India (1893). In the same year, Tilak made the Anti-Cow-Killing movement, started by the anti-Western reformer Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) in 1882 and growing greatly through the 1880's, "one of his most potent tools."[39] During Iqbāl's earlier college period, Tilak organised (in 1895) a celebration in honour of the birthday of the former Mahratta chief Sivaji (1627-1680).[40] It was one way to arouse Hindu emotionalism, because this celebration succeeded in so far as it led to street riots; "for within two years it worked itself out in murder in the streets of Poona. For this reason we take 1895 as the date of the arrival of the new spirit in Indian

38. It fell in disuse as English replaced Persian in India. Fewer Indian Muslims spoke Persian by Iqbāl's time.

39. J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London: 1929, Macmillan & Co), p. 358.

40 His capital was at Poona, whence he ruled as emperor since 1674. He stood opposed to the Mughal emperors (1526-1857) whom future Mahratta leaders displaced as India's central power in the eighteenth century. The British crushed the Mahrattas in 1818.

history."[41] The other way to incite pro-Hindu and, hence, anti-Muslim feelings was the journalistic. Tilak "the Father of Indian Unrest" himself was owner and editor (after 1890) of the Mahratta weekly *Kesari* ("The Lion") and its English counterpart, *The Mahratta*. The articles appearing in his papers were complemented by the religious nationalist writings of the Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894). His "Hail to the Mother" (*Bande Mataram*), a eulogy of the Hindu Mother-Goddess Durga-Kali[42] and Hindu India, soon became its anthem. It originally was included in his most renowned work, "The Abbey of Bliss" (*Anandamath*) wherein he subtly slurred the Muslims. These and other Hindu journalists and politicians were anti-English, Hindu revivalists and hostile to Islam. What an impression their writings and activities must have made on the sensitive student Iqbāl ! He meanwhile continued at the Oriental College where he gained greater proficiency in Eastern languages and cultures apart from Islamic subjects and where his inclinations toward philosophy clearly showed. Again, he fell under the influence of a professor who reinforced Iqbāl's earlier reformist schooling under Mīr Ḥasan. He became a favourite student of the English journalist and poet Sir Edwin Arnold (1832-1904),[43] author of *The Light of Asia* (1879), former principal of Poona's Government College and associated with Aligarh before coming to Lahore's Oriental College. The foundations for Iqbāl's modernist orientation had been laid. Upon his graduation (in 1897), he was awarded two gold medals for his proficiency in Arabic and English as well as a scholarship for advanced studies,[44] enabling

41. Farquhar, op. cit., p. 359. By "new spirit" Farquhar meant stress on freedom and on Hindu tradition.

42. She is known as Durga in her loving, as Kali in her wrathful, aspect.

43. It was *not* Sir Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), whose student Iqbāl became. Sir Edwin's book deals with the Buddha; another, *The Light of the World* (1891), centres on Jesus Christ. He also wrote travelogues, e.g. *Seas and Lands* (1891).

44. In the same year that Iqbāl graduated, the famous reformist Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838/9-1897) died. Iqbāl must have read his works while in college.

Muslim youths. The latter nineteenth century can be characterised, therefore, as the dawn of Hindu and Muslim nationalism. Despite the conviction of both groups that India must be free and upper-level agreement on communal co-operation, the air was charged with separatism. It was amidst this mood of religious nationalist fervour that Iqbāl, Muḥammad 'Alī, Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ and others, destined to become Islamic India's twentieth-century leaders, were maturing. It was Iqbāl, only twenty-two years old in 1899, who later would advocate publicly the blueprint for Pakistan. By 1899, however, the college-bred young adult still subscribed to the idea of a united India. A true disciple of Mīr Ḥasan and accepting the Indian liberalist viewpoint, he rejected separatism as contrary to the tenet of man's and India's unity. If communalism was preached at home, division was threatening the Islamic world beyond. The Caliphate[49] was breathing its last : the old order was dying in Turkey, Iran, Egypt. These events also impressed the student-poet, Iqbāl: student-poet because he began to write poetry during his first Lahore days.[50] The few poems that have survived betray personal discontent, perhaps due to an unhappy love affair,[51] a brooding nature, a youth given to passionate feelings. Islamic and English-educated and imbued with Muslim reformist side by side with European ideas and ideals, he never threw off the pull of either, despite his subsequent critique of the Western way of life and thought and his defence of the Islamic philosophical and scientific tradition.[52]

49. The name given to the old Muslim political order based on the Qur'ānic doctrine of unity and Muḥammad's teaching of an Islamic brotherhood. It also signifies that politics must be founded on religious doctrine.

50. Iqbāl after his European sojourn (1905-1908) settled again at Lahore.

51. He was married very early, perhaps at this time. It probably was arranged according to the older custom.

52. Cf. Muhammad Iqbal's *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, a series of seven lectures originally given in 1928 at Aligarh, Hyderabad and Madras Universities. (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1962, reprint is one of its many editions.)

"'For the last thirty years, efforts have been made to uplift the Muslims in the name of nationhood, but the failure of these efforts is only too obvious. The followers of the Prophet do not respond to the call of nationhood. Appeal to them in the name of religion, and you will see what a splendid response you get!'"[4]

The implication of his speech was not lost on Iqbāl who knew that the Muslims had lost their vigour, had become indifferent to their lot which, they repeatedly maintained, was Allah's will and found their solace in their own religion. Neither did he ignore another facet in Shiblī's point of view. "Shiblī was the first Indian Muslim who discovered the value of making religion the basis of political appeal. He is the original author of the war-cry, which became so prominent in subsequent Indo-Muslim politics—'Islam in Danger'."[5] Shiblī himself undoubtedly was influenced therein by that Indian segment who had been propagating the theme that Hinduism was in danger. Some major bases for it were the British Government's attempt through the schools and the army to convert as many Indians as possible to Christianity, facilitated by the admittance of a large number of missionaries to the country; their laws abolishing widow-burning (*suttee*)[6] and other old Hindu practices; anglicisation through language, education, administration, intermarriage. That religious and political motifs were intertwined is clear.

International events which stirred the Indian soul during the first years of the new century were Britain's and America's intended policy to grant self-government respectively to South Africa and the Philippines and Japan's victory in its (1904-1905) war with Russia.[7] If the first two measures depressed the Indians, Japan's triumph gave them hope.

4. Ibid., p. 138.

5. Ibid.

6. A law passed in 1829—under Lord Wm. Bentinck's administration (1828-1835)—made it a criminal offence.

7. The war began on 8 February 1904 with Japan's attack on Port Authur, but was formally declared on 10 February; it ended formally with the peace treaty signed at Portsmouth on 5 September 1905. The late U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1949) acted as mediator.

"'The Hindus regarded more the inner significance of the event. The old-time glory and greatness of Asia seemed destined to return. The material aggrandizement of the European races at the expense of the East seemed at last to be checked. The whole of Buddhaland from Ceylon to Japan might again become one in thought and life. Hinduism might once more bring forth its old treasures of spiritual culture for the benefit of mankind. Behind these dreams and visions was the one exulting hope—that the days of servitude to the West were over and the day of independence had dawned. . . .'"[8]

Thus wrote a European eye-witness then resident at New Delhi. If hope gleamed in the Indian breast, the reality was sombre.

"Now, in contrast with these glowing lights, let us place some of Lord Curzon's acts as they seemed at the time to educated Indians. He gave an address at Calcutta University Convocation in which he suggested to a listening nation that they were a nation of liars."[9]

Two acts of his particularly led to his great unpopularity: The Universities Act (1904), which aimed at educational reform, but which was interpreted by modern-oriented Indians as curtailing Western education, and Bengal's partition (1905-1911). In decreeing it

"he paid but little attention to Bengali feeling and opinion, and some of the speeches which he delivered in a tour through the province were provocative in the last degree. In any case, his action infuriated the educated classes of Bengal; the whole country was soon rocking in sympathy with them; and an unscrupulous propaganda roused the wildest passion, excited the students beyond measure and led to many riots."[10]

Bengal's partition was in response to Muslim pressures, to protect the well-being of that province's Islamic majority—a fact not indicated by Mr Farquhar. He is correct, however, in stating that it, amongst other events, "gave the Anarchist party their opportunity. . . ."[11] Such men as Bipin Chandra Pal, Tilak and

8. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London: 1929, Macmillan & Co). pp. 360-61, citing from the Rev. C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, pp. 4-5.

9. Ibid., p 361.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

Lajpat Rai now had ample ammunition with which to rouse Hindu India. Regarding the partition as a violation of Indian unity and nationalist sentiments, the Indians boycotted English goods. The violence caused government control of the press and stricture of public meetings. This all happened shortly before Iqbāl was to leave his homeland.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Iqbāl entered his twenty-seventh year and the second year of his lectureship (in 1900). He had not been and for some time would not be a political activist. Apart from writing a book on economics in Urdu, he had been turning to poetry as a means of recording his inner feelings and reactions to external events. He had been participating (prior to 1900) in local poetry sessions and had gained the attention of older poets. When one of his friends, Sir 'Abd-ul-Qādir, started the Urdu journal *Makhzan* (in 1901), which would publish many new writers, Iqbāl "had to contribute a poem virtually to every issue of the magazine".[12] His poetry dating from approximately 1900-1905[13] covers three major categories : nature, religion and politics.

> "A few are on subjects connected with nature, and represent some of the most successful attempts made in Urdu, to imbibe the poetic traditions of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Cowper. In the other set of poems, we see Iqbal as a *sufi* and an avowed pantheist. In the third series, Iqbal is the champion of the new rising nationalism of India."[14]

Among them are "Portrait of Pain" (*Taṣwīr-i-Dard*), also translated as "Picture of Grief"; "A New Temple" (*Nayā Shiwālah*); "Sighing of an Orphan" (*Nālah-i-Yatīm*); "Complaint to the Prophet"(*Faryād ba Ḥaḍūr Sarwar-i-Kā'ināt*); "Song of the Indian

12. Ikram, op. cit., p. 172.

13. They were published for the first time close to Iqbāl's forty-fifth year. Many earlier poems are missing, probably because they were first attempts, or he changed his views on some subjects they covered.

14. Ikram, op. cit., p. 172. Wm. Wordsworth (1770-1850) and his friend Samuel T. Coleridge (1772-1834) were among the early leaders of English Romanticism. Coleridge advocated Unitarianism; Wordsworth, "Democratic Liberalism"—he was a humanitarian, adored Nature and was somewhat pantheistically inclined. Wm. Cowper (1731-1800), a pre-Romantic English poet of religious verse among which are *Hope, Charity, et al.*

Children" (*Hindī Bachchun kā Gīt*), also translated as "Children's Prayer" and the "Indian Anthem" (*Tarānah-i-Hindī*).[15]

If the "Picture of Grief" laments disunity in India, the "New Temple" pleads for Hindu-Muslim unity and envisages the time when all its faith groups united by love will worship in the new sancturary:

"Come, let us yet once more
lift the veil of estrangement,
unite those who have parted,
remove all traces of duality.
* * *
here in this land
let us raise a new temple. . . ."[16]

The "Sighing of an Orphan" echoes India's frustration at not being regarded as England's equal; in "A Complaint," the poet takes India's, particularly Muslim India's, cause to the Prophet Muḥammad; the "Indian Anthem," also called "Our India"—composed to counter Chatterjee's *Bande Mataram*—has patriotic fervour, so does the "Children's Prayer". Iqbāl's political poems reflect his sensitivity to the communalist issue; his hope and doubt, as expressed in the "New Temple," that it can be solved; his agreement with the politicians that India is not treated fairly by her Western overlords; his grief that his country is torn apart; his love for his religion, and Muḥammad in "A Complaint to the Prophet," whom he regards as the arbiter. Many deal with India at large, viz. are non-communalist, although they show the existence of religious dissension; all among these imply his love for Islam and his concern for Islamic India's destiny. They reflect their author's serious concern and mood.

The young Iqbāl's talents reached the ears of the influential Anjuman Ḥimāyat-i-Islām ("Society for the Support of Islam") at Lahore which soon invited him to read a poem of his at its annual meetings.[17] He thus established his reputation as a poet,

15. The "Indian Anthem" and many other poems of Iqbāl were set to music.

16. Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Muhammad Iqbal (Bombay : 1951, Orient Longmans, Ltd.), p. 24.

17. "A Picture of Grief" was read at the Anjuman's 1904 annual meeting.

at least in the Punjab, during the six years that he respectively taught at Lahore's Oriental College and its Government College (1899-1905).

From his Lahore days until his death poetry would remain for him *the* vehicle of expression. The example had been set by the Indo-Muslim poet Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī (1837-1914), an admirer and a friend of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and a firm supporter of the "Aligarh Movement". Writing in Urdu and in Persian, his Urdu *Musaddas*[18] is an epic eulogising the Prophet Muḥammad, and describing the transformation which Islam wrought in Arabia, the cultural zenith reached by the Muslims and, as a counter-point, their post-1857 decline: "This is the ruined garden of Islam." Nevertheless, "a promising future" awaits its people whose talents lie dormant, if they "have the heart to till" their land. Its message, put in simple language, easily was understood by the Muslim masses for whom philosophy was abstruse. "The success of the *Musaddas* was phenomenal. It took Muslim India by storm."[19] Iqbāl took his cue from Ḥālī whom he "ranked . . . along with Sir Syed, among the Makers of Modern Muslim India."[20] Certain entries in his *Note-Book*,[21] started some years later (on 27 April 1910), show why he considered poetry so important:

"'Philosophy is a set of abstractions shivering in the cold night of human reason. The poet comes and warms them up into objectivity'" (p. 127).

"'The psychologist swims, the poet dives'" (p. 156).

These words were written after his return from Europe with its strong philosophical tradition and newly-discovered "science of the soul" (psychology)[22]

18. First published in 1879. The *Musaddas* underwent innumerable revisions. Iqbāl participated in Ḥālī's centennial celebrations held at the Hali Museum School, Panipat, in 1936. He was invited by the Nawāb of Bhopal, Ḥamīdullah Khān, who presided over this ceremony.

19. Ikram, op. cit., p. 72; pp. 71 and 72 for quotations from the *Musaddas*.

20. Ibid., p. 81.

21 *Stray Reflections*, A Note-Book of Allama Iqbal, ed. by Javid Iqbal (Lahore: 1961, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons). Also called *Diary* in the text.

22 Psychology is of Greek origin : *psychos* "soul"; *logos* "science".

The year 1905 closes the *second* period of Iqbāl's life. His youth and early adulthood lay behind him. It had been a period of nationalism which had become the keynote in Indian writings and speeches, of Indian-British dissension and Hindu-Muslim divisionism, amidst which Iqbāl, in the "New Temple" for instance, and Ḥālī were pleading for unity.

1905-1908: Study Years Abroad. Muḥammad Iqbāl had decided upon a legal career. As it was the fashion then for young men to enroll in an English university, Iqbāl had applied to and was accepted at Cambridge. He sailed from India in summer 1905 and would stay abroad for three years. For the first time, he found himself in a foreign land, amidst a people who continued to send their viceroys in regular succession to his country. He was alone among a people who at once prided themselves upon loyalty to the Crown, embraced the theory of parliamentary democracy, and subscribed to colonialist policy. They soon would send armies to the Middle East together with European allies, sound the deathbell for the Caliphate and partition it. Iqbāl probably was as astounded as had been Sir Sayyid about the literacy of the common folk and the English life style which, freer perhaps than in India, nevertheless had remained Victorian. Between the fall of 1905 and 1907, he was preparing himself for a legal future at Cambridge's Trinity College, where the philosophical current at the time was that of a return to Neo-Hegelian[23] idealism. Among his teachers at Trinity College were Professors McTaggart and James Ward. McTaggart lectured on Hegel and Kant[24]

23. George Wm. Fr. Hegel (1770-1831), a German philosopher, who insisted on the "wholeness" of the universe, implying that space, time, etc., ultimately are not completely real. He also developed the dialectical system: thesis, antithesis, synthesis, later borrowed by Karl Marx (1818-1883). Hegel stated that the movement from imperfection to perfection—a moral development—takes place in time. The world reveals the "Idea," that is "the True, the Eternal" (*vide* his *Philosopy of History*).

24. The German philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), author of: *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781, 1787); *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788); *Critique of Judgment* (1790). He maintained that man cannot know God's innate nature. His influence on Hegel and many other philosophers is immeasurable.

and believed in personal immortality. James Ward, author of *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, embraced the doctrine of "spiritual pluralism". Iqbāl continued to value McTaggart's friendship after his Cambridge days were over, but both men influenced him.[25] As time went on, Iqbāl became more familiar with English Empiricism,[26] German Rationalism, Dutch (Spinozist)[27] "Pantheism," Nietzschean[28] and Marxist doctrine, Romanticism, with European political ideology and institutions, its legal traditions and concepts He, himself, became such a sceptic, as he acknowledged in his *Diary*,[29] that he might have become an atheist had it not been for Wordsworth. His "scepticism" probably was fostered by an English education with its strong rationalist flavour and Islamic modernism which he had absorbed during his school years in India. He asked himself, for example, in an early poem: "What shalt thou gain by prayer ?"[30] His sceptical mood did not last and is regarded as a passing stage (*ḥijāb-i-ḥaqq*) between doubt and belief.

25. Ward frequently is said to have had a great impact on Iqbāl, but McTaggart's religious belief at least tied in with Iqbāl's religious tradition.

26. A school of thought stressing experiment and observation as necessary for acquiring knowledge and particularly experiment as the source of all knowledge. The Englishman John Locke (1632-1704), author of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, is regarded as the "Father" of Empiricism.

27. Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Dutch philosopher, whose major work is *Ethics* (completed in 1675 ; published posthumously). in which he stresses that God alone exists, is infinite and where he rejects the orthodox doctrines of sin and immortality. The world from God's aegis is timeless and eternal—time has no reality. Plurality is illusory. His metaphsys is called "Logical Monism"—he is regarded as the outstanding proponent of Pantheism.

28. Friedrich Wm. Nietzsche (1844-1900), German existentalist philosopher, author of *Beyond Good and Evil, Will to Power, Thus Spake Zarathustra*, etc. He maintained that "God is dead," Christianity imprisons man, Buddhism is nihilistic, if less so, and also presented the Superman idea.

29. p. xviii—alias p. 55.

30. S.A. Vahid, "Iqbal as a Lyric Poet," in *Iqbal Studies* (Karachi: April 1950, Din Muhammadi Press), p. 7.

While at Cambridge, Iqbāl

"took active part in the meetings of the Islamic Society, which some Indian Muslims had organized in London, and was one of those who were responsible for changing its name to Pan-Islamic Society. He delivered a series of lectures on Islam dealing with such subjects as 'Certain Aspects of Islam', 'Islamic Tasawwuf,' 'Influence of Islam on European Civilization,' 'Islamic Democracy,' and 'Islam and Human Intellect'."[31]

Nearly two years of intense study in Europe had passed by the time he presented his lectures. Each carries the word "Islam" or "Islamic" in its title, revealing its author's passionate interest in the history of his own religious, philosophical and political tradition. His passion was engendered in his childhood days, deepened by his further education and immediate observation of the Indian scene as well as by his ability to think about his tradition's value *vis a vis* that of Westernism while abroad. Must his "confession," therefore, that he nearly became a sceptic not be taken with a grain of salt ? If he asked himself what purpose prayer serves, was it not an expression of hopelessness about India's and specifically Indian Islam's condition ? *Philosophical scepticism* rejects the meaning and values of life and human activity, intellectual and scientific pursuits. Iqbāl never tread the path of negativism : not then—why should he engage in higher learning if it had meant nothing to him ?—and not in the future. On the contrary, he would sound the trumpet for activism ; he would preach that life has meaning, that it has beauty, that Nature is enchanting ! His political doubt caused his cry of anguish ! His interest in *history* permitted a better knowledge of earlier Islamic periods ; *philosophy* allowed him to mine deeper the treasures of Islam and compare them with the European tradition ; *law* would give him the know-how to deal expertly with India's and his people's problems. Away from home, he valued Islam's conception and way of life the more :

> "'O dwellers of Western lands ! God's world is not a shop !
> That which you considered good coin shall prove to be counterfeit.

31. Ikram, op. cit., p. 174. *Taṣawwuf* means "Spiritualism".

Your civilisation will kill itself with its own dagger ;
A nest built on a slender bough will not last for ever.' "[32]

Thus he wrote in an ode (*ghazal*) composed in March 1907, a year before he would sail home. It shows his disenchantment with European secularism void of spiritual content. Does it mark a change in his attitude about Westernism ? True, he had not had such immediate knowledge of it before he travelled westward. Seeing the European in his own habitat may have disillusioned him. He had come as a Muslim nevertheless and, when comparing his with the foreign life-mode, preferred his own. The change was not so radical—the *ghazal* rather confirmed in an external way Iqbāl's—as it had Abū Ṭālib's—conviction about Islam's greatness.

While in England, he travelled to Italy, Spain and other countries on the Continent. Upon Professor McTaggart's suggestion, he enrolled at the University of Munich in order to complete his doctoral work in philosophy. He also took a course at Heidelberg University. He had three women teachers at Munich : Professors Senechal, Wegnast and Schat, who taught poetry, language and philosophy. He at first disliked the idea of studying under women whose place he felt was in the home ; in fact, he subscribed to *purdah*. The anti-feminist Iqbāl at this time wrote a satire on the subject :

" 'It is quite unjust for the college students to get annoyed with the Preacher
For he is not really an advocate of *Purdah*.
Was it not Yesterday that he declared quite frankly in his sermon :
What is the point of *Purdah* when men themselves have become womanly ?' "[33]

He soon buckled down to work, however, as he realised that his female professors could help him in achieving his doctorate within a relatively short time-span. He received it upon acceptance of his Dissertation : *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, later

32. Ibid., p. 174, for quotation of this Ode.

33. Iqbal Singh, op. cit., p. 46, for quotation and p. 47 for the names of Iqbāl's women professors.

published in London.[34] It again shows his profound interest in Muslim culture. In 1908 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, London. He sailed home (in August 1908) as Advocate and Doctor of Philosophy. Did he know then that one day he would become the Advocate of Muslim India?

Standing on the deck when his ship was gliding by Sicily, once a centre of Islamic civilisation, he was so overcome that he wrote a touching elegy containing the following verses:

> "'Weep to thy heart's content, O blood-weeping eye,
> Yonder is visible the grave of Muslim culture.'"

Longing to be told about "'that picture of the old,'" he promises that:

> "'I shall carry thy gift to India,
> and make others weep as I weep now.'"[35]

Stepping on Indian soil, Dr Iqbāl's years of formal academic training were over. He was now thirty-one years old and in the prime of his manhood.

During his absence, India had remained turbulent. A new viceroy, the fourth Earl of Minto (1845-1914), had taken over from Lord Curzon at the time of Iqbāl's departure (1905) and would govern India for two more years after his return (until 1910). A new generation of Muslims were coming into their own. The ex-principal of Aligarh, Theodore Morison, wrote (in 1906) to the then Secretary of State, Lord John Morley (1838-1923),[36] on this subject:

"'a generation of young Mohammedans is springing up not only in Aligarh, but in all the big towns of Northern India which has learned English, and whose thoughts run easily in the Congress mould. For some time this young Mohammedan party has been restless, and it has only been kept to heel by the personal ascendancy of the leaders and the young Moslem's respect for his elders and betters. . . . *I don't think the Mussalmans will long*

34. Luzac & Co., London, 1908. It was dedicated to his former professor, Sir Edwin Arnold.

35. Ikram, op. cit., pp. 174-75, for quotation. It is comparable to the poems by Sa'dī (1198-1291) on the fall of Baghdad (1258) and other earlier Muslim poets' laments on the capture of cities in the Islamic world.

36. Morley was Secretary of State for India between 1905 and 1910.

stand out against the blandishments of the Congress. . . .' "[37] Among them were Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, third Aga Khan (1875-1958) who, as late as the end of 1905, had favoured Muslim membership in the Congress; Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ, at that time Dadabhai Naoroji's private secretary, who attended the Calcutta Congress session (1906); Ḥasrat Mohānī, former Aligarh student, who accepted the "New Party" platform based on Aurobindo Ghose's teachings and preached by Tilak, as well as young Doctor Iqbāl, now resettled at Lahore.

How right Mr Morison was is clear from the initiative shortly taken by Indian Islam's leaders. They sent a deputation headed by the Aga Khan to Simla[38] (on 1 October 1906) to put a series of demands before Lord Minto. Among them was the request for separate electorates as a protection for the Indo-Muslim population, to which the viceroy conceded. It was an important political British concession and an Islamic victory. Earlier, the Government under Muslim pressure had divided Bengal. Having gained viceregal acceptance, the Aga Khan began to correspond with Nawāb Muḥsin-ul-Mulk[39] (1837-1907) about establishing a Muslim political organisation. The Nawāb and other co-religionist agreed. A conference of Muslim leaders at Dacca during the last week of December 1906 resulted. Nawāb Salīm Ullah Khān (1884-1915) of Dacca proposed a plan for setting up the Muslim All-India Confederacy, a political organisation, to act as Islamic India's spokesman.[40] That led to another get together (on 30 December 1906) for further discussing Nawāb Salīm's plan which was accepted at that meeting. Thus the All-India Muslim League[41] came into being. Its reason for existence,

37. Mehrotta, op. cit., pp. 182-83 for text of quotation; p. 183 for footnote "1. Note by Mr. Theodore Morison: encl. Morley to Minto, June 22, 1906, Minto Papers, M. 1005, No. 69."

38. Simla is a hill station not far from New Delhi.

39. His given name was Sayyid Mahdī 'Alī. He became Aligarh's administrator upon Sir Sayyid's death.

40. Ikram, op. cit., p. 107.

41. A.B. Rajput, *Muslim League, Yesterday and Today* (Lahore: 1949, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf). Among its founders also was Mushtāq Ḥusain alias Viqār-ul-Mulk (1841-1917) who became upon Muḥsin-ul-Mulk's death Honorary Secretary of Aligarh College (1907-1912).

as its resolution states, was to promote "the political rights and interests of the Indian Mussalmans" (art. *b*) and to engender in them British loyalty and assure the British of their co-operation (art. *a*). Its first president was the Aga Khan (1907-1913);[42] its first formal session was held at Karachi (in 1907). A branch was organised in London by Muḥammad 'Alī (on 6 May 1908) who became its president. Among its members were Dr Iqbāl and Dr Anṣārī. The organisation of the All-India Muslim League meant the renaissance of Indo-Muslim political consciousness and political communalism—as also Bengal's partition and the saparate electoral system—a split with Congress whom Indian Islam no longer considered the proper voice for defending its rights and presenting its case before the British.

During an earlier Congress session (1904), the seventy-nine-year old Dadabhai Naoroji had insisted, as he had done during its first meeting, that India's paramount goal would have to be and remain "'self-government under British paramountcy'."[43] This patriarch of Indian politics proclaimed at its annual convocation in the year that the Muslim League was set up: "'Self-government or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies.'"[44] He added that he regarded freedom as the birthright of every Indian citizen. Hind's constitutional status would not be defined until the All Parties Conference had taken place (in 1928). The moderate Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915)[45] found himself in a dither, because Lord Minto had been warning

42. He led the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations Assembly in 1932 and yearly between 1934 and 1936, becoming its first Indian president in 1937 (Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 183, footnote 2).

43. Mehrotta, op cit , p. 34, text and footnote 3 citing "*India*, June 10, 1904, p. 282."

44. Ibid., p. 41, text and footnote "2. *Report of the Twenty-Second Indian National Congress*, 1906, p. 21."

45. Member of Bombay's Legislative Council (elected in 1899) and its representative on India's Imperial Legislative Council (nominated in 1902), founder of the Servants of India Society at Poone (1905), he indefatigably demanded administrative reform preparing India for independence. He insisted that there be "no taxation without representation". Cf, his *Speeches* (Madras : 1908, Natesan).

him to accept the intended reforms if the clock were not to be set back,[46] so that he (Gokhale) had to lead Congress to compliance. He had begun to see that his liberal party would fail. That he sensed the failure of his task is evident from a speech he gave at Allahabad (on 4 February 1907), which included the words:

"'Let us not forget that we are at a stage of the country's progress when our achievements are bound to be small, and our disappointment frequent and trying. . . . It will, no doubt, be given to our countrymen of future generations to serve India by their successes; we of the present generation must be content to serve her mainly by our failures.'"[47]

His diagnosis was correct for Lord Minto's warnings did not stop the shrill nationalist voices. Bipin Chandra Pal insisted "in his famous speeches at Madras in May 1907" on "the impractability and impossibility of 'self-government under British paramountcy.'"[48] He thus repeated the theme voiced three years earlier by his colleague D. Naoroji. His friend Aurobindo Ghose insisted (in a 1907 tract) on "'absolute Swaraj—self-government as it exists in the United Kingdom.'"[49] Naoroji also had insisted on it (in 1904). How could India fulfil its destiny and its mission to the world unless it were free? "'She must live her own life and not the life of a part or subordinate in a foreign Empire.'"[50] Pal rejected outright the idea of a partnership which, he said, would give India a secondary, not an equal, status.[51] Pal, Naoroji and others demanded a boycott of British goods, passive resistance, a self-development programme to promote Indian goods.[52] That they were forerunners of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), who

46. Cf. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 52, text and footnote "Morley to Minto, July 27 and August 2, 1906, Minto Papers, M. 1006, Nos. 6 and 8."

47. Ibid., p. 43, text and footnote 6 referring to "*Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (1920 ed.), p. 957."

48. Ibid., p. 39, text and footnote "5. B.C. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj* (1954 ed.), pp. 149-67."

49. Ibid., p. 38 for text; p. 39 for footnote "1. Aurobindo Ghose, *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (1952 ed.), pp. 69-70."

50. Ibid., p. 39, text and footnote 3 referring to "H. and U. Mukherjee, *'Bande Mataram' and Indian Nationalism* (1957), p. 85."

51. Ibid., p. 40, text and footnote "1. *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 162."

52. *Svadeshi* means "belonging to one's country"; *sva*="self".

then resided in South Africa (1893-1914), need not be stressed. The movement itself showed that the educated classes in India had begun to concern themselves with economic issues. A society founded at Calcutta provided for scholarship to study scientific and industrial subjects abroad, whereby a new Indian labour supply could be secured.

"Between 1905 and 1907 a considerable number of new manufacturing and trading companies were formed in various parts of India, but above all in Bengal. Cotton, jute, leather, soap, glass and other manufactures were attempted. There was at least one steam navigation company. Several Banks and Insurance Companies arose."[53]

Pal and like-minded Indians linked their political theses with the taxation motif, a Western principle not lost to them. They were sharply aware of their economic worth to England. They had learned the power of the purse.

In spite of their speeches and actions, Congress majority opinion remained bound to the liberal platform. It could not placate, therefore, the younger resurgents incited more by B.C. Pal's and Naoroji's speeches and writings. Repudiating the moderate line advocated by Gokhale, they seceded from the Congress —as presaged by him—at its two-day Surat session (27 December 1907), which was so violent that it had to be broken up. Of the 1600 delegates present, 900 favouring self-government by constitutional means attended the National Convention (on 28 December) called the previous day by G. K. Gokhale, R. B. Ghose and others. The Convention, which met at Allahabad (18-19 April 1908) to frame a Congress constitution, was rejected by the Bengali extremists in their organ, the *Bande Mataram* (23 April 1908).[54] They considered the Committee a betrayal of India by "'foes of Indian independence'" who "'refused to serve the Mother with an undivided heart' and 'placed the alien on the throne of her future and dared to think that she would accept a left hand and inferior chair at the side of his seat of empire.'"[55]

53. Farquhar, op. cit., p. 365.

54. Ibid., p. 11.

55. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 46, text and footnote "1. H. and U. Mukherjee, '*Bande Mataram' and Indian Nationalism* (1957), pp. 77-80."

The Congress hardly had split when A. Ghose, who was a contributor to the English weekly, *Bande Mataram*, demanded "defensive resistance" and defined India's new creed as "Nationalism".[56] Most Indians agreed on the need for freedom and self-government; their disagreement chiefly centred on its nature and the methods for its attainment. The Muslim leadership adopted freedom as its platform, agreeing however with the Hindu moderates on co-operation with the Englishman for reasons of protecting the Mussalman, thus giving the theme a communal twist. The British did not quite know what to make of the situation. Wrote Morley to Minto (March 1907): "'He [the Indian member] would tell you how things strike that queer article, the Native Mind.'"[57] In another note to the viceroy (dated May 1907), he said: "'we are all in a cleft stick: we don't know the minds of the Natives, and the Natives don't know what is in our minds. How to find some sort of bridge? That's the question.'"[58] It showed lack of a clear British policy for India. Both men were unanimous on the need for a "bridge," meaning that demands for greater representation must be met to silence India. The one issue on which a fierce debate raged for two years (1906-1908) concerned the admission of an Indian to the Governor-General's Executive Council. Minto and Morley were for it; nearly everyone else, including their Tory and Liberal colleagues in England, the Prince of Wales and the English press, were against it. "The British community in India talked of organizing in self-defence."[59] Their principal fear was that admission would lead to parliamentary government. Their fear, contrary to Morley's opinion that, if this were so, "'I for one would have nothing at all to do with it,'"[60] was not irrational. The debate showed the continued

56. *Speeches*, op. cit., p. 7.

57. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 48, text and footnote "6. Morley to Minto, March 14, 1907," referring to the "Minto Papers, M. 1007, No. 16."

58. Ibid., p. 48, text and footnote "3. Morley to Minto, May 16, 1907," referring to the "Minto Papers, M. 1007, No. 29."

59. Ibid, p. 49. Another reason was their increasing feeling of insecurity in view of serious civil disturbances.

60. Ibid., p. 49, footnote 3, citing from "*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India*, 1909-10, vol. xlviii, p. 51."

English dissent since Cotton's and Hamilton's days.

The Government struck back (in 1907) by arresting, trying and imprisoning some men for "seditious journalism". Among them were the fierce nationalists Brahmabandhab Upadhyay (1861-1907)[61] and Tilak (jailed 1907-1914).[62] Upadhyay had founded[63] the weekly newspaper *Sandhya* ("Twilight") which became the rallying centre of Bengal's anti-partition and was another voice for anti-British propaganda. Tilak subscribed to Naoroji's view, presented at the Congress Calcutta session, that it is the Indian's "'birthright to be free'"[64] and accepted the New Party slogan : "Militancy, not mendicacy". Before his arrest, he had written in his *Kesari* (22 January 1907) that he would accept self-government along a colonial pattern, thereby disappointing the radicalists.[65] Was he influenced, if briefly, by Gokhale who stated the Moderates' conviction (4 February 1907) "'that there was room in the Empire for a self-respecting India'"?[66] They had thwarted the "extremists'" attempt to take over Congress at its 1906 session ; they foiled another effort led by A. Ghose to wreck it during its Surat (26-27 December 1907 session) in spite of the riot caused on the second day. The liberals, despite their 1908 attempt, were unable to placate the opposition and stem the New Party's tide. To this political climate Iqbāl had come back.

61. He had converted first to Protestantism (1891), then to Catholicism, but lived as a Hindu ascetic (*sannyāsi*) (since 1894). He with R. Tagore (1861-1941) founded a school at Santiniketan (1901). He died from an infection after an operation he had during his trial.

62. He had been jailed before for sixteen months (in 1897). He now was imprisoned in Mandalay, Burma, where he resumed his Sanskrit studies and wrote a commentary on the *Bhagvad Gita* ("Song of God") which, he said, preaches religious *and* political action. He implied that violence for a righteous cause is justifiable on moral grounds.

63. Founding date unknown.

64. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 41, text and footnote "2. *Report of the Twenty-Second Indian National Congress*, 1906, p. 21."

65. Ibid., p. 40, footnote 3.

66. Ibid., pp. 42-43, for text and p. 43 for footnote "1. *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (1920 ed.), p. 949." Gokhale had private conversations with him.

The situation on the international scene was not any more comforting. Turkey's Ottoman[67] government had squabbles with England in the dispute about the border between Egypt and Palestine,[68] resulting in a British ultimatum (May 1906). In Egypt, occupied by the British (since 1882), a tripartite struggle was fought between its government, its nationalists and the foreign power. The Egyptian journalist and nationalist, Muṣṭafā Kāmil (d. 1908), founder of "The Banner" (*al-Liwā*, in 1900)[69] and the "Fatherland Party" (*Ḥizb al-Waṭan*, 1894) opposed the colonialists as well as his own rulers. Advocating representative government, he convoked Egypt's first national parliament (7 December 1907). A civil war loomed in the land of the Nile toward the end of 1908 when a former finance minister, Buṭrus Ghālī Pāshā, who happened to be a Copt, was suggested as its premier.[70] It and other[71] events stirred deep nationalist feelings in a country whose civilisation began about six thousand years ago.

The Anglo-Russian convention (concluded on 31 August 1907), which divided Persia into a Russian and a British sphere of influence, further upset the Islamic world. It consequently felt that Russia rather than Ottoman Turkey was England's friend.

Turkey's Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.) forced the Sulṭān 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) to restore the 1876

67. Called after Osman ('Uthmān) (*c* 1250 C.E.), regarded as the dynasty's founder. The Ottoman dynasty ended during the First World War.

68. These countries belonged to the Ottomans' vast domains (since 1526), although Egypt nominally had become free under Muḥammad 'Alī (since November 1805). He was recognised formally as "governor" (*wālī*) by the Ottomans (in April 1806). He repelled the British landing troops at Rosetta (April 1807). He died in 1848.

69. Originally published in Arabic; an English and a French edition appeared in 1907.

70. The Copts are Egypt's Christians. B. Ghālī was murdered by the nationalists (20 February 1910).

71. The "Dinshaway affair". The British executed twenty-one Egyptians as punishment of their killing one among an English shooting party who had murdered an Egyptian woman in the village of Dinshaway (13 June 1906).

charter[72] granting a constitutional administration. The rise of nationalism, engendered by their intelligentsia's appropriation of Western political doctrine, means not only the remanifestation of the Middle Eastern peoples' spirit ; it also signifies a non-Muslim ideology because nationalism divides which is contrary to the Islamic doctrine of unity (*tawḥīd*) It furthermore implies that the old loyalty to Islam had to compete with a passion for a new political tenet. The growth of Modernism [73] added to the division sown by political dissension amongst Muslims. It met with stiff opposition from orthodoxy and engendered "reactionary" Muslim groups[74] which felt that Islam had become threatened by a virile nationalist ideology and Western cultural and social concepts and mores.[75]

The years that Iqbāl had spent abroad had been difficult for India and for the Middle East. They were heralding the Western power struggle that would culminate in the First World War (1914-1918) and to which the Islamic world, too, fell prey. They also revealed the depth of Western influences on Islamic thought as it expressed itself in journalism, education, economic and social life.

72. It provided for electoral machinery throughout the Ottoman Caliphate allowing the Arabs constituting two-thirds of its population to have a sizable number of representatives (69 *versus* 150 Turks) in new Chamber of Deputies (formed in December 1908).

73. The name given to the intellectual school in Islam advocating a reassessment of Muslim cultural thought to harmonise it with newer currents Sir Sayyid, Iqbāl and many others belong to this movement. It is not to be confused with Reformism constituting an attempt to purify Islam from foreign influences and reconstitute it along older lines.

74. Among them are the "Society of Muslim Brethren" (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*) founded in Egypt (1928) by Ḥasan-ul-Banna (1906-1949), the "Society of Islam" (*Jamā'at-i-Islāmi*) in present-day Pakistan. Its beginnings are traceable to 1933.

75. Afghanistan's religious village leaders (*mullās*) staged a march to Parliament in Kabul (on 27 April) in protest against modernisation, including the drinking of alcohol and the wearing of miniskirts, both forbidden by the Qur'ān (ii. 219 and xxxiii. 5 3 ff.).

4

BACK HOME : 1908 (Sept.)—1911

They were hard years for Iqbāl. He had settled down at Anarkali Bazar, Lahore, where he had rented a house. With a Law Degree and a Ph.D. fresh in his pocket, he renewed his ties with Government College which now appointed him Professor of Philosophy at a monthly remuneration of Rs. 500, a considerable sum at the time. He was a fine teacher who took interest in his students in whom he wished to instil a broader conception of life:

> " 'For this I have bared secrets the free spirit knows: that in
> The cloister and the school, all thought in freedom may be grounded.' "[1]

He felt that freedom of inquiry is essential to preserve and build on the rich cultural heritage bequeathed over the millennia to mankind, but that the foundations of learning must be Islamic. He rejected "Licence of Thought [which] is Satan's own device,"[2] because it means thinking unbridled by love and other qualities stressed by the Qur'ān, the Prophet's Sayings and his way of life.

Two and a half years later, Iqbāl resigned from the Educational Service. His explanation was that he " 'could not freely express his ideas while in Government employment.' "[3] His resignation amazed his friends who could not understand why he gave up such a lucrative career which also held great possibilities for him. He visited[4] Hyderabad State to seek employment under

1. Cf. his later *Jāvid Nāmah, Ghazal* No. 28.

2. Ibid., the last line of a short poem by that title.

3. Iqbal Singh. *The Ardent Pilgrim,* An Introduction to the Life and Works of Muhammad Iqbal (Bombay : 1951, Orient Longmans, Ltd), p. 60.

4. Apparently a few months before he began his *Note-Book* (*Stray Reflections,* ed. Javid Iqbal [Lahore: 1961, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons], which was started on 27 April 1910, that is, towards the end of his teaching at the Government College.

a Muslim ruler who would allow the Doctor freedom of expression. Nothing came of it. He was disappointed by the Niẓām's pro-British sentiments. His bitterness shows through a letter addressed at the time to 'Aṭiyyah Begum[5] in which he wrote that he longed

"to run away from this country as soon as possible. . . . My life is extremely miserable. . . . As a human being I have a right to happiness. . . . These dead barren leaves of books cannot yield happiness; I have got sufficient fire in my soul to burn them up and all social conventions as well."[6]

That self-righteousness and hypocrisy added to his misery caused by an unhappy marriage[7] appears from an earlier letter to 'Aṭiyyah Begum:

"Let the many-headed monster of public give their dross of respect to others who act and live in accordance with their false ideals of religion and morality. I cannot stoop to respect their conventions which suppress the innate freedom of man's mind.' "[8]

Three characteristics emerge from these personal confessions: (1) his unhappiness; (2) his rejection of traditionalism; (3) his passion for freedom. (1) His unhappiness was due as much by personal as by environmental circumstances. He faced financial difficulties now that he did not have a job, which added to his marital woes. He had a deep interest in law, particularly Islamic law, which probably caused his resignation as much as is disillusion about the situation in his country. The general atmosphere of complacency among his Muslim compatriots, the conduct of the Muslim elite who mostly courted the British, and the growing disinterest in the principles on which the Muslim League was founded conspired to make Dr Iqbāl an unhappy man. (2) His training in India, where modernist forces had born on him, and in West

5. He met her while both were students at a party in London. She later married the painter Mr Rahamin.

6. Letter dated 7 April 1910 found in *Iqbal's Letters to Atiya Begum*, (Delhi 1945, Hali Publishing House), pp. 36, 37.

7. Iqbāl now was the father of a daughter and a son who at present is a practising lawyer in Karachi.

8. Letter dated 17 July 1909, *Iqbal's Letters to Atiya Begum*, p. 49.

Europe with its rationalist orientation had strengthened his critical faculties preventing him from subscribing to ideas, institutions, mores, which he summarised under "conventions" and regarded as outmoded It would create problems for him as the Indo-Muslim religious leadership whom he dared to attack considered him a secularist, viz. a man of unbelief and an emeny of Islam. He met their opposition undaunted. They later gruntingly had to admit his greatness as a Muslim philosopher. (3) He had returned from Europe[9] with an ideal: to make his country, particularly his co-religionists, free and to forge their cultural apart from their political renascence. His hope was blunted by them. Now his pride as a Muslim and as an educated man with a grandiose vision was hurt—his idealism stunted. He, therefore, wanted to get away from it all, from that hopeless muddle in which Muslim India had sunk.

Iqbāl's insistence on freedom must be seen as a two-sided protest: (*a*) against the *'Ulamā'* whom he accused of imprisoning Islam by ignoring its progressive character; (*b*) against political realities of his time. He saw the Islamic world, including Muslim India, used as a pawn in European power politics. He strongly felt that his co-religionists' secondary status never would permit the development of their rich talents. The message enshrined in Amīr 'Alī's writings, hammering on Islam's past greatness, and in Muḥammad Shiblī's work calling his people back to life, was not lost on Iqbāl. Neither were the ideas found in the expansive nationalist literature—much of it extremist in nature—stretching back to the time of his birth. The influence on young Dr Iqbāl's thought by such nationalists as Messrs K. Pal, M. Ghose, S. Banerjea, all born before him, but active through the first decades of the twentieth century, cannot be denied. The speeches and writings of A. Ghose and B. G. Tilak, belonging to Iqbāl's generation, also had an impact on the formation of his political ideology. The anti-Muslim position of many leading Hindus, exemplified by the deification of "Mother" Hindu India, Tilak's continuation of Dayananda's anti-cow-killing movement, the

9. He identified himself while in England less with India than with Islamic India. Cf. his speeches of the time.

roits they and other daily occurrences[10] provoked—they threw Iqbāl and other young Muslims, as formerly Sir Sayyid and Amīr 'Alī, into a communalist position.

These and other Muslims and Hindus shaped Iqbāl's view, which he expressed soon after his return to India by certain of his actions and in his letters. He refused an invitation (1909) to deliver a lecture before the Minerva Lodge (Amritsar) open to Muslims and Hindus. His explanation for his refusal is found partly in a (1909) letter, in which he wrote:

> "'The vision of a common nationhood for India is a *beautiful ideal, and has a poetic appeal*, but looking to the present conditions and the unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfilment.'"[11]

A realistic appraisal?—Yes, in view of the actual conditions and the Morley-Minto reforms enshrined in the Indian Councils Act (1909).[12] It[13] provided not only for the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Cabinet and two[14] Indians to the Secretary of State's Council, increased power of the legislative bodies whose membership would be elected, *but also for a separate electorate for India's Muslims.* It thereby formally incorporated the Simla demand and acknowledged, apart from the existence of two faith communities in India, the impossibility of their ever reaching

10. At funeral and wedding processions, for instance, providing occasions for attack due to different practices and presenting an outlet for hostile sentiments.

11. "*Safinah-i-Ḥayāt* by G. Q. Farrukh, p. 23" quoted in the Introduction to Iqbāl's *Note-Book*, p. xxi. Italics ours. Letter dated 28 March 1909.

12. Minto's Executive Councillor's Reforms Committee, appointed by him in 1906, sent proposals to the Secretary of State, Morley. He then authorised their presentation to the Local Governments and via them to individual men of public note to obtain their reactions. Taking two years, the Government of India in October 1908 submitted "its final proposals to the Secretary of State" (Masaldan, *Evolution of Provincial Autonomy in India, 1858-1950*, With Special Reference to Uttar Pradesh [Bombay : June 1953, Hind Kitabs, Ltd.], p. 9.). They received their final formulation in the 1909 Indian Councils' Act, itself an extension of the 1882 Act.

13. This Act was a further extension of that passed in 1882.

14. Three Indians as of 1919.

a consensus on those issues concerning the Mussalmans' rights and protection. This Act was the "bridge", viz. it was the Government's attempt to meet a difficult situation by giving in to the Indians on some points of their long debate. India now had been jettisoned a step further toward separatism and internal "political responsibility,"[15] internal because a 1907 Resolution did not include India among the Dominions and thus excluded from Commonwealth Conference membership.[16] Iqbāl already had noted the separatist tide in his above-mentioned (1909) letter, which then can be regarded as perliminary to his December 1930 speech wherein he outlined the Pakistan "idea".

Other events then occurring in India were Lord Minto's replacement by Lord Hardinge (1858-1944) as the new viceroy (1910-1916),[17] who was wounded in an assassination attempt in New Delhl (23 December 1912); the Prince of Wales's visit (1910); the imperial Coronation Durbar held at New Delhi[18] (12 December 1911); continued Hindu hostility about the (1904) University Act and Bengal's partition; Muslim anger about (1) its reunification (November 1911), (2) the suppression of Urdu and Persian teaching in the Government schools, and (3) Government control of many mosques;[19] Indian fury at the silencing of freedom voices, in spite of the Government of India dispatch (dated 25 August 1911) to Lord Crewe which stressed that " 'the just demand of Indians for a larger share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied.' " It continued by saying that the ques-

15. S.R. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* (New York: 1965, Fred A. Praeger), p. 54, footnote "7. Morley to Minto, April 2, 1909."

16. It was amended in 1917.

17. Morley's successor as Secretary of State for India (1910-1915) was Lord Crewe (1858-1945), whereas Sir Edwin Montagu (1879-1924) was Under-Secretary of State for India (1910-1914). Lord Hardinge had been permanent Under-Secretary of State for India (1906-1910), which office he resumed (1916-1920). Lord Crewe would be replaced by Austen Chamberlain (1863-1937) as India's Secretary of State (1915-1917) serving under Lord (Viscount) Chelmsford (1868-1933) as its Viceroy (1916-1921).

18. The capital formally was transferred from Calcutta to New Delhi on 12 December 1911.

19. S.A. Vahid, *Iqbal Studies* (Karachi: 1950, Din Muhammadi Press), p. 257.

tion was how to do it without impairing the Governor-General's authority in the Imperial Council and suggested "'autonomy in all provincial affairs.'"[20]

Among the most important foreign events were Bulgaria's secession from the Caliphate[21] about the same time that Bosnia and Herzegovina were gobbled up by Austria-Hungary (6 October 1908); a *coup* in Turkey (April 1909) engineered by the Young Turks Party[22] due to Sulṭān 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd's attempt to overthrow them. He, instead, was forced to abdicate by National Assembly decree passed at the San Stefano meeting (26 April 1909), whose delegates chose Muḥammad V (1909-1918) as his successor. He ruled nominally, because the *coup* resulted in a nearly five-year uninterrupted rule by the Committee for Union and Progress. Furthermore, the French enter Morocco (21 April 1911), triggering the "Moroccan crisis"; Italy annexes Tripoli after the Tripolitan War (28 September 1911), made possible by the Racconigi Agreement (24 October 1910) with Russia which promised not to counter Italy's designs in Tripoli in exchange for the latter country's support of Russia's aspirations in the Straits of Gibraltar. The Russians invade North Persia (11 November 1911), having been given a free hand there during the Potsdam Conference between Tsar Nicholas and Emperor William (4-5 November 1910). Is it any wonder that Iqbāl and the whole Islamic world felt sad and that Muslim nationalism grew rapidly during these years?

The slogans were Freedom and Unity, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism. External manifestations were the founding of such societies as the Ottoman-Arab Fraternity (*al-Ikhā' al-'Arabī al-*

20. Mehrotta, op. cit., pp. 60-61 for quotations and p. 60, footnote "7. Announcements by and on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor at the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi on December 12, 1911, with the Correspondence relating thereto, Cd. 5979 (1911), p. 7." This dispatch, published 12 December 1911, "was in connection with the proposed transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi".

21. Bulgaria's independence was recognised by Ottoman Turkey on 9 April 1909.

22. Its founder was the nationalist Ziya Gokalp (1876-1924).

'*Uthmānī* on 2 September 1908) by Arabs resident in Constantinople (Istanbul).[23] If the slogans were new, the ideas they convey are old. The Prophet Muḥammad had stated in his Farewell Speech at Mecca (630 C.E.) that all Muslims constitute one brotherhood irrespective of their nationality, rank, occupation. The doctrine of unity (*tawhīd*) remained central in Islamic political theory, while the Caliphate founded in the seventh century represented the actual embodiment of this cardinal tenet. Iqbāl would pound on it. Continuing through the nineteenth century, the old Caliphate was being torn in pieces by the beginning of the twentieth. Disunity under the guise of nationalism in a new form, with former Caliphal territories sliced into boundaries and each part ruled by its own dynasty or elected head of government, was feared by Iqbāl at least as early as 1909 when he also wrote :

"'Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the Muslims' faith ; it comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concept and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life.'"[24]

Iqbāl and most Indian Muslims subscribed to the idea underlying the Caliphate[25] even though India never formed a part of it, because it represented Islamic strength, unity, and sovereignty, and conducted its own affairs without foreign intervention until the nineteenth century. It had become a symbol of freedom for the Indian Mussalman suffering Western rule and fearing suppression by the Hindu majority.

All these events did not make Iqbāl happy. On the con-

23. It was suppressed by the C.U.P. Another was the "Literary Club" (*al-Muntada al-Adabī*). Similar societies sprang up in Paris and elsewhere in Europe. In the same year and month, the Hejaz Railway was opened.

24. Introduction to his *Note-Book*, pp. xxii-xxiii, quoting from "*Islam and Ahmadism*, pp. 44, 43."

25. Iqbāl had little enthusiasm for India's later movement to save the Caliphate.

trary, he was so despondent between 1908 and 1911 that he confided (in 1910) to A. Begum: "'I have no enthusiasm for poetry.'"[26] He, therefore, did not recite one of his poems at the Ḥimāyat-i-Islam's annual (1910) session, as he had been wont to do.[27] His anger exploded (in 1911) in his famous *Shikwah* ("Complaint") and (1912) *Jawāb-i-Shikwah* ("Complaint's Answer").[28] "Lord of universal favour, let impartial justice be," he begs of God,[29] "Who is the theme of my complaint."[30]

"All we have is jeers from strangers,
public shame and poverty—

* * *

Is disgrace our recompense for laying
down our lives for Thee?'"[31]

At one time

"Thou it was that Love's quintessence
set afire, a blazing coal,

* * *

"Why is it, that in our bosom not a
spark remains today?
"We are still the same burnt chattels;
What, hast Thou forgotten, pray?"[32]
"Life is joyless now, and death no
comfort promises to bring."[33]

Now, the Muslims grieve in silence.

"They cry in pain,
their ravished souls are thirsty."[34]

26. Letter dated 7 April 1910: *Note-Book*, p. 68.

27. Another reason may have been the internal Anjuman dissensions causing litigation, which upset Iqbāl.

28. It was composed in October 1912 (S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* [Lahore: 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf], p. 177). Translated from Urdu by A.J. Arberry (Lahore: 1948, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf).

29. *Shikwah*, p. 5.

30. Ibid., p. 3.

31. Ibid., p. 19.

32. Ibid., p. 25.

33. Ibid., p. 32. This verse also is autobiographical.

34. Ibid., p. 29. Also autobiographical.

He calls forth to the thirsty:

"Break, hard hearts, to hear the carol
of this nightingale forlorn" (Iqbāl)
Rise, dead hearts, by this new com-
pact of fidelity reborn. . . ."

Listen to the new melody:

"And though Indian the song be, from
Hejaz derives the mode."[35]

The "Answer to the Complaint" opens with these verses:

"Speech that issues from the heart a
magic influence exerts;
Wingless though the discourse be, yet
it has power to soar on high;
Holy is its origin. . . ."[36]

The planets discourse with each other about the situation on earth, about mortal man "just newly driven out of Eden," who dares "to aspire in our high firmament to sit?"[37] Indeed, it is an "effront" to them that those of such "lowly birth," impudent, unduly proud, who "know of Quality and Quantity," but have lost their beauty, and their graces, dare to think of soaring heavenward. Paying lip-service to their faith—the Muslims are meant here—they are responsible for their decay, for

"Nations come to birth by Faith, let
Faith expire, and nations die. . . ."[38]

Now "bereft of every art," they languish under foreign rule:

"There is scarcely one amongst you [who]
after Paradise aspires. . . ."[39]

Poisoned by modern political creeds, they have forgotten Muḥammad's message of brotherhood and love:

"But to act as one, and Muslims—that
would every bound exceed.

35. Ibid., p. 33. "And . . . mode." precedes "Rise . . . reborn"; this section forms the ending of the "Complaint".

36. *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*, p. 37.

37. Ibid., p. 39.

38. Ibid., p. 45.

39. Ibid., p. 48.

Here sectarianism triumphs, class and
caste there rule the day ;
Is it thus you hope to prosper, to
regain your ancient sway ?" [40]
"But can you claim you are Muslims
if the truth must be confessed ?" [41]

Lacking fear of God and having "abandoned the Qur'ān," quarreling amongst each other, they who once had "self-esteem" now are experts in "self-destruction". The Muslims will not perish, however, for God continues to love them.[42] Besides, Islam is like a fruitful vine, filled with intense "vitality" : [43]

"This new age is wrapped in shadows,
but thy star shines faintly through."

If

"The reality thou art is hidden from
the people's eyes . . ." [44]

in time, the Muslims will be revitalised.

"Where is now the time for leisure?
Mighty labours yet await,
Ere the light of the One Godhead all
the world irradiate." [45]

40. Ibid., p. 49. Cf. *Shikwah*, p. 29 : "love is grown too rare and costly".

41. *Answer*, p. 53. The word "but" at the beginning of this verse is important for a literary reason as the stress is on it for intensification and because the underlying question is how the Muslims can aspire to Paradise, since they no longer are "loyal" to the dictates of their faith. Can they honestly continue to think of themselves, therefore, as followers of the Prophet ?

42. It is a theme found in the Prophets of Israel. *Vide* Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, *et al.*

43. Cf. Isaiah, ch. 5, for instance, where the vineyard "in a very fruitful hill" "brought forth wild grapes" because the Israelites did not heed God.

44. *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*, p. 65. It also is autobiographical and means that India's Muslims do not yet recognise Iqbāl as their leading voice for activism.

45. Ibid., p 67; "the light of the One Godhead" refers to Allah and to the monotheist Muslims, who one day will surprise the world and illumine man.

The poem ends with a warning that they be faithful to Muḥammad and never forget

> "Thou a Muslim art, and Destiny thy
> edict must obey."[46]

Although Iqbāl does not accuse God directly in the *Shikwah* for the fate that had befallen his people, he hints at Divine aloofness —a Kantian theme—causing them grief and joyless life. He also suggests that it is unfair for Divinity not to aid those who willingly died for Him.[47] It is, in fact, contrary to Allah's Just and Compassionate nature. He effortlessly sketches their and his own sadness, showing his deep identification with their problems. The "Complaint" furthermore expresses hope for rebirth ; the Indo-Muslim renaissance will be patterned along Islamic lines. This poem's clear link with the *Jawāb-i-Shikwah* is reflected not only in the latter's title, but in the theme of hope for a revival due to Allah's undiminished love for the Mussalman. The call to reawaken (*Shikwah*)[48] connects with that for action (*Jawāb*). Yet a great distinction between these two poems is that in the "Complaint" Iqbāl alludes to God's aloofness, and in "Answer," to the Muslims' indifference. He chastises them (*Jawāb*) as the real culprits, which explains why he feels that Allah has lost interest in them (*Shikwah*). Their restoration derives from their own incentives and dynamism stirred by their love for Allah and His eternal affection and compassion for them. Their activism will turn the tide ; they no longer will be bent on self-destruction, but on their reconstruction. It will bear testimony to their deep faith as well as an assurance of their salvation.

The *Shikwah* and the *Jawāb-i-Shikwah* which made their author popular throughout India "ended" Iqbāl's silence and inaugurated a very fertile poetic period. The suffering Muslim Job, who had put his complaint before Allah Himself Who gave His answer, now turned into an aggressive campaigner for Indo-Muslim resurgence. His "Shama'-o-Shā'ir" (March 1912), composed somewhat earlier than his *Jawāb*, gives a clear clue about his intended role. In this "Candle and the Poet," the candle tells

46. Ibid., p. 72. It also is Iqbāl's personal affirmation.
47. *Shikwah*, p. 19. 48. Ibid., p. 33.

the poet how to inspire and illumine his people. If the years 1908-1911 were a transition period in Dr Iqbāl's literary career,[49] those that follow were golden. The "*Shikwah*," "*Shama'-o-Shā'ir*" and "*Jawāb-i-Shikwah*" open his great poetic period. In the political sphere, he fully had given up the idea of a united India by this time. Two agonising questions pertaining respectively to Muslim India's and the Islamic world's destiny confronted him: how to release their dormant energies and how to effect their freedom. He decided that the best method would be through poetry understandable to the masses. He thus followed Muḥammad Shiblī's and the earlier Muslim poets' example. Why? Partly because they had been eminently successful as their poetry stuck deep in their people's soul; partly for a reason he gave in his *Diary* (p. 125) : "Nations are born in the hearts of poets. . . ." In other words, he, the poet Iqbāl, saw his function as a nation-builder, possible if his verses impassioned his audience. His "Complaint" and "Answer" had a great response—they were an index to the future.

49. The poetry he wrote between 1908 and 1911 is generally of lesser quality.

5

IQBĀL'S EMERGENCE AS INDIAN ISLAM'S MAJOR POET : 1912-1918

This period begins with his writing of the *Asrār-i-Khudī* ("Secrets of the Self") and concludes with the publication of the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* ("Mysteries of Selflessness"), in the year that the First World War (1914-1918) ended.

The Asrār-i-Khudī *or "Secrets of the Self"*. It is the first of his Persian masterpieces, begun in 1912 if not in 1911,[1] and marks a departure from his previous poetry in so far as it is more psychological and philosophical in nature. He recited parts of this "long poem in progress on an obtuse, philosophic theme" before the Anjuman Ḥimāyat-i-Islām's annual (1914) gathering. Its comprehension was made more difficult by its Persian language which few in the audience knew. "Puzzled eyebrows were raised : among the few who understood, there was a sense of apprehension. What was Iqbāl trying to do and where was he heading ?"[2] The poem of which he cited was the *Asrār*, which took long to finish. Its psychological aspect is clear from its title, for the "self" or ego (Greek, *psychos*) is man's innate component. As Dr Iqbāl's aim was to regenerate the Muslims, he felt that he first had to concentrate on the awakening of their "soul". This feeling emerges, too, from a statement he made in this work, namely :

"'The form of existence is an effect of the Self,
Whatsoever thou seest is a secret of the Self,

* * *

1. S. A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore : 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), *vide* p. 129 and p. 308 for its publication date of 1915. R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge University translated it into English (1920). Rev. ed., Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1944, which is used for all quotations.

2. Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Muhammad Iqbal (Bombay : 1951, Orient Longmans), p. 79.

A hundred worlds are hidden in its essence :
Self-affirmation brings Not-self to light.' "[3]

The first line is *not* to be understood in a monistic or even in a pantheistic sense. Iqbāl means no more by the first stanza than that man sees about him the results or effects of his own actions, each of which illumines a facet of his personality hitherto unknown to him. The second stanza says that a myriad facets lie hidden in a person's inner recesses—hence the word "secret". Every time one of these becomes externalised, the individual increases his self-understanding and self-assurance, because externalisation means a growing awareness of his potential. The more facets surface, the greater is the relief in which the individual's innate capacities are thrown. The above-quoted verses reflect Iqbāl's deep conviction that the seeds of change lie within man, including obviously the Mussalman. Has any psychologist said it better than our poet ?

The conditions for the soul's development are : freedom, desire and love.

Freedom

" 'The freeman's veins are firm
as veins of granite ;
The bondman's weak as tendrils
of the vine
And his heart too despairing
and repining—
The free heart has life's tingling
breath to fan it.' "[4]

It is in freedom, not in slavery, that man can have dignity. His passion for freedom probably had something to do with his unhappy marriage, but it must be seen mainly within the political context. India was not free ; it faced the British. Muslim India felt uneasy about Hindu motives. The Islamic world had to contend with the English, the French, the Germans and the Russians. Freedom was at a premium for the Muslims everywhere and the

3. *Secrets*, p. 16.

4. V. G. Kiernan, tr., *Poems from Iqbal* (Bombay : 1951, Kutub Publishers, Ltd.). (Wisdom of the East Series and reprint of the 1947 edition.) P. 90.

little that they had was whittled away by the powers of occupation.

The debate on freedom had begun in India at least before Iqbāl's birth and would continue throughout his life. Journals[5] appearing about the time he had begun to compose his *Asrār-i-Khudī* kept hammering on *svaraj* as had those of an earlier age now defunct. Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl concentrated, however, on Indian Islam's reconstitution, which reflects his profound attachment to the people amidst whom he was born. He was a *Muslim Indian* patriot.

The freedom debate had another, apart from the political, aspect. It dealt with the Muslims' right and will to reassert themselves and overcome their conviction, strengthened by their religious leaders, that their subservience and all events in life are Allah's will. He denounced at once their attempt to keep the Muslims "imprisoned" by their "false" interpretation of the Islamic doctrine of Destiny (*Taqdīr*) and their unwillingness to liberate their people from such religious chains. The will to act depends upon each individual and is born from a desire for change.

Desire

The poet sings in *The Secrets*:

" 'Keep thy desire alive in thy heart,
Lest thy little dust become a tomb."[6]

His warning that when the embers of desire die out, the prison-life never will end, is coupled with his exhortation that, consequently, it (desire) must remain a forceful element in human life. He means by desire man's longing to develop his innate potential so as to enrich his life and modify it in order to improve it. Desire moves man to beautify his environment, to plant seeds that when carefully tended blossom into flowers: "From its rose-planting the world abounds in roses."[7] Desire gives shape to all that man has wrought:

"What are social organisations, customs and laws ?
What is the secret of the novelties of science ?

5. The *Comrade*, the *Zamīndār*, *et al.*

6. *Secrets*, p. 23.

7. Ibid., p. 19.

A desire which realised itself by its own strength
And burst forth from the heart and took shape."

Spontaneous desire causes the individual to become "intoxicated with the wine of an ideal".[8] As a gardener or a farmer reaps the harvest of his labours, so shall anyone willing to form and execute ideals—instead of remaining listless and despairing—gather the fruit thereof The "ideal" at the time he wrote these verses was particularly the Indian Mussalmans' desire for freedom which, once awakened, would engender action. The cited passages, therefore, have a psychological and a political meaning : psychological, because the self must be opened up "to see" its potential qualities ; political, because its unfolding yields a strong desire to throw off its bondage.

Love

"From love proceeds the radiance of its being
And the development of its unknown possibilities."

Reference is, of course, to the self, characterised as "the luminous point," as "the life-spark beneath our dusṭ" which is a deep mine of hidden qualities and which "by love is made more lasting".[9] Love is the source of life and of the soul, illumining both :

"Love makes peace and war in the world,
Love is the fountain of life, love is the
flashing sword of death."[10]

These lines are of extreme importance, because they stress love—a cardinal Qur'ānic tenet preached by the Prophet—in war time, which made it the more stringent and because they say that it is the foundation of war, as of peace. The first-quoted stanza is mainly psychological, with a political undertone. The second is chiefly political, with a psychological undertone. Its statement that love lies at the root of war is revolutionary. What Iqbāl says in both stanzas is that self-love engenders a profound wish for improvement which, itself, sparks such a strong desire for

8. Ibid , p. 27 for the entire quotation.
9. Ibid., p. 28 for this set of quotations.
10. Ibid., p. 29.

self-protection that, under adverse circumstances, it may cause a military conflict. Amidst the then political reality, it meant: a freedom struggle.[11] Was he not preaching an Indo-Muslim—if not an Indian—revolution? Yes, because freedom was his passion. Iqbāl's critics, therefore, are right in regarding him as a "revolutionary poet".[12]

There are other aspects to his insistence on love: his marriage was loveless; lack of love means lack of self-respect which results in self-pity and pity by others. The future then is bleak; life worthless. Iqbāl admonishes his people that terrestrial life, which contains "the secret of moonlight and sunlight,"[13] has worth because it is created and that God's love of them and theirs for Him must inspire them to regain their sense of self. This line of reasoning explains why Iqbāl battled fatalism which, he insisted, is *not* taught in the Qur'ān. He and other Muslims maintain that the Islamic doctrine of *Taqdīr* is wrongly translated as "Fatalism" or "Predestination". Its true meaning is "premeasurement, prescribed function for each thing" and person "with pre-prescribed laws to discharge it. . . . The law of *Taqdīr*, or premeasurement, as expounded by the Qur'ān, is corroborated by every form of existence in Nature. It is, in fact, the basic principle of all existence."[14] Dr Iqbāl accepting this interpretation of *Taqdīr* also saw its fundamental meaningful in movement, the essence of life, and innate in man. Through activity, which reflects movement, the human potential unfolds itself which unfolding he saw in spiritual terms.

"As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view

11. As much as a poet of Nature and a poet of Man. *Vide* Vahid. op. cit., Ch. I: "Art in His Poetry". The implied idea is the Qur'ānic dictum (xxii. 39—cf. note 1270 to ix. 20, p. 44, in 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī's translation).

12. Cf. K. G. Saiyidain: "Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought," in T. M. Khayal, ed. *Iqbal as a Thinker* (Lahore: 1966., Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), *vide* p. 55 for his allusion to this characterisation.

13. *Secrets*, p. 137. He actually said that time contains these secrets, but time is interwoven with life, so that "life" can be substituted.

14. Ali Musa Raza Muhajir, "Taqdīr in Islam," in *Islamic Literature* (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, ed.), Vol. XV, No. 12, December 1969, pp. 739-46 (45-52)-ff.; p. 740 (46) for quotation.

of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view. As an emotional system of unification it recognizes the worth of the individual as such. . . . "[15]

Life forms a part of history which, he agreed with the Muslim historian 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406),[16] is "a continuous movement in time . . . a genuinely creative movement and not a movement whose path is already determined."[17] It is an open road giving plenty of opportunity to the dynamist filled with ideals. The individual becomes aware of it through a psychological and a religious process permitting him eventually to perceive his and life's true, viz. spiritual and progressive, character. Iqbāl also called attention to Islam for every person's concrete earthly needs. In "The Spirit of Muslim Culture" he alluded to it by saying :

"The first important point to note about the spirit of Muslim culture then is that for purposes of knowledge, it fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite. . . . Knowledge must begin with the concrete."[18]

What he meant is that pouring over the Qur'ān and its Commentaries has its worth, but it may be an escape—which it often was—from the pain besetting Islam's children. It is time to lay the books aside for a while, to stop mumbling outworn formulas, to concentrate on the immediate.

The *Asrār-i-Khudī* is of utmost importance for many reasons :

(1) it is Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl's first major poetic volume ;

(2) it sees the primary way to reconstruction in psychological terms : the reawakening of the self (*buddhī*)

15. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore : 1962, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), Ch. VI, p. 146.

16. Author of a comprehensive three-part work on "The History of the Arabs, Persians and Berbers" (7 Vols., which contains, in the third volume, his autobiography, Cairo, 1284 H.). Its first part, the *Muqaddamah* ("Prolegomena") containing a critical analysis of historical principles made him famous.

17. *Reconstruction*, Ch. V., p. 141.

18. Ibid., p. 131.

is preliminary to further development (*khudī* or "selfhood");

(3) it teaches and preaches action in the name of love of self and, ultimately, love of freedom;

(4) it contains criticism and warnings; in its criticism of the Muslims it connects with the *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*; in its warnings, it seems closer to the *Shikwah* with its compassionate strain;

(5) its reiteration of major themes, such as love, re-awakening, the call to action, show that Dr Iqbāl's mind had been set before he wrote the *Asrār* and that it remained unchanged between 1910 and 1915;

(6) it is universalist in nature in spite of its immediate concern with the Muslims, who are not often mentioned in it by name;

(7) it reflects its author's deep attachment to his co-religionists;

(8) it shows his love for freedom;

(9) it teaches sedition by calling the Muslims to the battle;

(10) it is written in such a lyrical vein[19] that it appealed not only to the intelligentsia, but also to the masses.

The connection between Iqbāl and Ḥālī is noteworthy, for both aroused the Muslims through their poetry. Iqbāl's insistence that a revival of Indian Islam is possible is derived as much from Ḥālī as it is from Shiblī. Ḥālī wrote in his *Shikwah-i-Hind* ("India's Complaint")[20]:

"'Whither has gone the superiority of the Muslims,
In wealth, wisdom and learning?
Whither has gone that fixity of purpose,
That knew no barrier of land or sea?

19. It was written in the *mathnavi*, a Persian epic style.

20. Does it not explain Iqbāl's choice of the title for his "Complaint"? It also shows these men's personal grief about Indian Islam's and world Islam's decay.

> Whither has gone that vigour and where are those strong sturdy arms?' "[21]

Ḥālī's questions in these verses, which can be summed up by one: What happened to this once great Muslim Community? meets with Iqbāl's terse reply:

> "Thou hast fled, like a scent, from thine own garden;
> Thou hast made thy prison with thine own hand."[22]

The severity of his accusation is tempered by his love which he shared with Ḥālī, Shiblī, Amīr 'Alī, Sir Sayyid and many other Indian Muslims.

The *Asrār* at first was not too well received; it was criticised particularly by the *ulema*. "Criticism was violent and copious, not at all stinted. Those who had admired Iqbāl as a lyricist, as an interpreter of their own sentimental moods . . . now turned on him, with a fury inseparable from disappointed hopes and loves."[23] They were angered not only by its psycho-philosophical tendencies and its composition in Persian; it eulogises Jalāl-ul-Dīn al-Rūmī[24] (1207-1273), while it slights Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, alias Ḥāfiẓ[25] (*c.* 1320-*c.* 1390), both equally renowned mystic Persian poets. They were infuriated lastly by the suggestion that the literate readers turn to English books devoid of mysticism. Why did Iqbāl suggest this?

"Mysticism has, no doubt, revealed fresh regions of the self by making a special study of this experience. Its literature is illuminating; yet its set Phraseology shaped by the thought-forms of a worn-out metaphysics has rather a deadening effect on

21. As quoted in S.M. Ikram *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 76-77. It is among Ḥālī's many other poems, apart from his *Musaddas*.

22. *Secrets*, p. 138.

23. Iqbal Singh, op. cit., p. 79.

24. Author of the *Mathnavi*, regarded as "The Qur'ān in the Persian language," the *Dīwān* (a collection of Odes), and founder of the "Dancing Dervishes" (*Mevlevi* order).

25. He is the second great poet from Persia's province of Fars; his chief work is his *Dīwān*; he was admired in India. The first was Muṣliḥ-ud-Dīn, alias Sa'dī (thirteenth century), author of the *Gulistān* ("Rose Garden"), *Bustān* ("Orchard"), *et al.*

the modern mind."[26]

The reason why Dr Iqbāl did not give Ḥāfiẓ his due was his opposition to mysticism in so far it repudiates secular life, history, comprising activity, progress, forming part of life's movement. The mystic's major preoccupation is to prepare for that moment when his soul "merges" with God, repudiating the traditional conception of salvation as well. The mystic's sole concern is his own salvation. He is not interested in reconstructing the world, which occupied Dr Iqbāl's mind as his *Stray Reflections* indicate: "'Given character and healthy imagination, it is possible to reconstruct the world of sin and misery into a veritable paradise.'"[27] Iqbāl had a keen sense of reality and constantly emphasised the social or gregarious aspect of life, that is the brotherhood idea. Another entry in his *Reflections* further illumines his viewpoint: "'Contemplation without action is death.'"[28] These and similar statements indicate why he did not pay court to Ḥāfiẓ. They give at the same time a clue to his preference for Rūmī, who appears to him in a dream (in the prelude) as "the Master, formed in the mould of Truth, Who wrote the Qur'ān in Persian." It is he who called to Iqbāl:

"How long wilt thou be silent, like a bud?
Sell thy fragrance cheap, like the rose!

* * *

"Up and reinspire every living soul.
Say: 'Arise' and by that word quicken the living!"[29]

These verses are autobiographical for they reveal Iqbāl's impatience for not having spoken up sooner and his self-image as the "Shaker-up" of his Muslim brethren. They show his love for Nature. In addition, they tell that Iqbāl saw Rūmī, a mystic like Ḥāfiẓ, in a different light: as the one calling him to the task of

26. *Reconstruction*, p. 90.
27. Javid Iqbal, ed., *Stray Reflections* (Lahore: 1961, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons), p. 102.
28. Ibid., p. 110.
29. *Asrār-i-Khudī*, pp. 8-9 (tr. S.A. Vahid, op. cit., p. 86).

spreading the gospel of action. That he regarded words or speech of great importance for that purpose is clear from what he said about it in his "Answer to the Complaint". Other reasons for Iqbāl's sense of identity with Rūmī were that he accepted that Persian poet's notions of: human evolution (Darwin) leading to a perfect race, Germanic in the ethnic sense, but Christian, Islamic, etc., in religious terms; an ideal Man appearing "in every epoch" whom Iqbāl later identified as the "Shaker-up" (comparable to Nietzsche's Superman) and certainly a characterisation of himself; the "will to be" leading to self-improvement and salvation.[30] He stated eventually that Rūmī and other earlier Muslim thinkers had said what later Europeans would say and that "all lines of Muslim thought," which includes Rūmī but excludes such mystics as Ḥāfiẓ, "converge on a dynamic conception of the universe".[31] Having given Rūmī a place of honour for the first time in the *Asrār-i-Khudī*, although he praises him as a parable writer in his *Note-Book*,[32] two questions arise.

(1) Did Iqbāl never read Rūmī before he studied in Europe? He presumably "discovered" this Iranian poet between 1911 and 1913,[33] implying that Iqbāl while in school in India did not know Rūmī's work. It is doubtful in view of the latter's popularity throughout the Islamic world. Iqbāl probably did not realise fully Rūmī's dimensions until his college years were over, when he (Iqbāl) had matured and had time to reflect on and compare his own ideas with those entertained by the former Muslim greats.

(2) How deeply was Iqbāl influenced by Rūmī during his study years in Europe? It is recorded in *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*[34] (p. 118) that McTaggart, his former teacher at Cambridge, wrote him a letter after having read Nicholson's translation of the *Asrār-i-Khudī*. He asked its author therein : " 'Have

30. *Vide Reconstruction*, pp. 186-87, for a comparison between Rūmī and Nietzsche and pp 194-95 for stating Nietzsche's failure.

31. Ibid., p. 138.

32. Javid Iqbal, op. cit., p. 55.

33. S A. Vahid, op. cit., p. 129, implies this view.

34. S.A. Vahid, Ed. (Lahore : 1964, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf).

you not changed your position very much? Surely, in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a Pantheist and mystic.'" The days of talking about philosophy at Cambridge long since had vanished. Was Iqbāl a mystic and a pantheist in those days and had he changed, therefore, that much in the intervening twelve years?[35] The word "surely" in the letter expresses some doubt. How well had McTaggart appraised his former student's inner thoughts? Iqbāl always had appreciated history and political reality. The pantheist like many (not all) mystics reject the value of history and its stream of political currents. Could he subscribe to Iqbāl's ideal of reconstructing this world into a paradise? The pantheist rejects after all the Qur'ānic creation doctrine ; he asserts instead the eternity of the cosmos, the doctrine of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd* or "unity" signifying the thesis that God is *in* the world (immanent) rather than apart from it (transcendent), as orthodox Islam asserts. For him the world essentially *is* paradise and, hence, no reconstruction is necessary. The pantheist furthermore shares with the mystic the view, reached by diverse modes of reasoning, that through direct participation in Divine Essence (God), man is Divine (pantheism) or that a person having reached the highest stage on the path (*ṭarīqh*) can attain divinity so that there are many gods in the flesh. This view is strictly censured by Islam[36] which teaches monotheism, Allah's uniqueness and aloofness from His creation. It is true, however, that mystics and pantheists accept God's eternity[37] and a number among them acknowledge revelation, biblical authority and even reason as sources of Truth. Love of God is a cardinal tenet for all.

"No worldly thing
Can a continuance have

35. He had returned in 1908. The *Asrār-i-Khudi's* English translation appeared in 1920.

36. Its adherence to monotheism caused the death of the mystic al-Ḥallāj (922 C.E.) claiming "I am God," which is for a Muslim the greatest sin (*shirk*).

37. The phrase "God's eternal existence" is illogical, because it presupposes a period of His non-existence.

Unless love back again it bring
Unto the cause which first the essence gave."[38]

Iqbāl also stressed love (*'ishq*)[39] and, in comparison, another of his dicta is cited : "Intellect, divorced from Love, is a rebel (like Satan) while Intellect, wedded to Love, has divine attributes."[40] Iqbāl's notion of love is manifold : (*a*) love of God ; (*b*) love of self allowing the ego's unfolding and not to be confused with egotism ; (*c*) love between man and wife, parents and their children, and amongst other relatives ; (*d*) love amongst Muslims irrespective of race, rank, class, country ; (*e*) love for mankind. All these types of love are taught in the Qur'ān and are expressed in one or another way in his writings. Iqbāl defined it thus :

> " 'This word is used in a very wide sense and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realise the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought. As love fortifies the ego, asking (*Su'al*) weakens it. All that is achieved without personal effort comes under *Su'al*. . . . Thus, in order to fortify the ego, we should cultivate love, *i.e.* the power of assimilative action and avoid all forms of 'asking,' that is, inaction. The lesson of assimilative action is given by the life of the Prophet, at least to a Mohammedan.' "[41]

Iqbāl's definition of love as "the power of assimilative action" may be somewhat mystical or pantheistic in its phraseology, but its meaning differs greatly from that given to it by either of these schools. What is meant is that, when the (Muslim) self has blossomed, he (she) shall appropriate, or enter on the path of, action (the assimilation idea) so as to pursue the formed ideals: his society's reconstruction and freedom. Neither the mystic bent on his own salvation and aiding a few disciples towards attaining "communion" nor the equally subjective pan-

38. Boethius (470 ?-525). *Consolations*, written in 524 C.E.

39. *'Ishq* is a Persian word for "love".

40. K.G. Saiyidain, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* (Lahore : 1971 [reprint of sixth rev. edn.], Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 90.

41. Quoted in Iqbal Singh, op. cit., p. 90. *Su'āl* also means begging ; and, in this instance, dependence upon the foreign ruler, a foreign culture.

theist yearning to know the enigmas of Reality hidden by the world of sense have such aims. It is true that Dr Iqbāl said in later years: "'There are moments in a man's life when he can experience God. Such moments are, however, rare... very rare.'"[42] These seem to be a mystic's words, but a devout believer—as Dr Iqbāl was—can experience Divinity's nearness and the resultant deep tranquillity without following the mystic's path of preparation ending into some sort of consummation.[43] Either experience is equally rare, but leaves a life-long imprint. Was McTaggart correct, therefore, in tagging his former student as a mystic and a pantheist? Iqbāl may have imbibed some of these currents during his childhood days, and may have leaned on them to defend himself against the strong dose of Western rationalism injected into him in a foreign environment. That does not justify McTaggart's view, followed by many biographers of Iqbāl, that he was a confirmed adherent of either pantheism or mysticism. It is difficult, of course, to probe another's mind fully. He found it even hard to understand himself, for he wished "to meet the Creator and call upon Him to give me a rational explanation of my mind—which I think will not be an easy task for Him to do. I am incomprehensible to myself...."[44] Three other points, however, need to be made: (*a*) McTaggart alludes to Iqbāl's diminished adherence after 1908; (*b*) Iqbāl attacked mysticism in his first major composition (*Asrār*) and in his much later *Lectures* (1928); he rejected Ḥāfiẓ so beloved by the Muslims and accepted Rūmī mainly for that poet's acknowledgment that secular, including political, activity has value; (*c*) his use of the phrase "rational explanation" which reveals a humorous bent, for he calls upon Divinity not to be mystical in explanation. Iqbāl nevertheless was dead earnest about it. Are McTaggart's allusion and Iqbāl's own viewpoint not contradictory to the fact

42. Mumtaz Hasan, "Iqbal—A Recollection," in Bazm-i-Iqbal, op. cit., p. 27.

43. The preparation dealing with mental processes and intense in nature does not guarantee that supreme moment of consummation with Divinity toward which every mystic aspires and which is his life's dominant goal.

44. *Iqbal's Letters to Atiya Begum*, p. 47.

that once a mystic always a mystic ? Our doctor's use of mystical terminology after the Persian fashion and well understood by the people who still know portions of Ḥāfiẓ, Rūmī and other great poets by heart, had a practical reason : his hope that his own verse would sway his audiences. It has led to a misinterpretation of many of his lines. Despite the furore caused by the publication of the *Asrār-i-Khudī*, it became popular. Its critics were mollified when Ḥāfiẓ was restored to his proper status in a later edition.

The next major work, following upon other poems[45] and some political articles, were the "Secrets of the Non-Ego" or *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, which came out about three years after the "Secrets of the Self" (in 1918). It, too, was written in Persian and translated into English,[46] under the title : *Mysteries of Selflessness*. Its title tempts the reader into believing that its subject is psychological and mystical, which it is not. It deals with a concrete political problem facing the Islamic world at the time : fragmentation *versus* unity and the consequent need to remain loyal to the brotherhood doctrine. Why, then, this title ? The reason for its choice is twofold : (1) its theme that all selves are interrelated in a religious fraternity bound together by love, so that there cannot be an extreme concern with oneself ; (2) the origins of Islam's precepts, including its brotherhood tenet, lie hidden in the "unfathomed sea," meaning God's eternal realm, from which the Prophet Muḥammad fished out "this pearl," viz. Islam, defined as a "natural religion".[47] This is the great mystery : why Allah revealed Islam ? The answer is : Because of His Bountiful and Merciful Nature. Another aspect is that Islam's true teachings had become lost so that its priceless dicta anew became secrets to its followers.

Brotherhood (*Millat*) was preached by Muḥammad during his "Farewell Message" at Mecca (630) two years before his

45. Iqbal's *Gulshan-i-Rāz-i-Jadīd* or "The New Garden of Mystery," for example. It is a long Persian poem consisting of nine questions and answers, modelled after a poem (*Gulshan-i-Rāz*) by the Persian mystic Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. *c.* 1311 C.E.), and published between 1915 and 1918.

46. A.J. Arberry, translator (London : 1953, John Murray).

47. *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, called also in the text *Rumūz* or *R.B.*, p. 20. References are to Arberry's translation.

death.[48] It became central to Muslim political thought, spawning such nineteenth-twentieth-century doctrines as pan-Islamism,[49] pan-Arabism[50] and Khilāfatism.[51] It is echoed in these verses :

"A common aim shared by the multitude
Is unity which, when it is mature,
Forms the Community ; the many live
Only by virtue of the single bond."[52]

They highlight the work's principal motif which is that all Muslim selves inextricably are linked together by their common origin, common religion and common history so that they must serve each other selflessly. No "fatherland do we profess except Islam" ; therefore, "Our Essence is not bound to any Place."[53] ISLAM is the Muslim's nationality ; not "India, or Syria, or Rum".[54] Such terms as "World Islam," "Community," "common ancestry," frequently are used to stress the idea of Muslim solidarity. The themes of love, loyalty, obedience to God and Muḥammad form the other sinews of the *Rumūz*.

". . . As the blood that flows
Within a people's vein, so is his love
Sole substance of our solidarity."[55]

The word "his" refers "to the beloved Prophet of Ḥijāz" through whom all Muslims are bound in "true loverhood". Regarding love—taught in the Qur'ān—as the "woof and warp" of life, it is the supremely binding element between Allah and the Muslim,

48. Born at Mecca, Muḥammad settled in Yathrib, later called after him "the city of the Prophet" (*al-Madinat-un-Nabī* = Medina) in 622, regarded as the "Year of the Refuge" (*Hijrah*) and as the first year in the Muslim calendar (1 H.). *Vide* Qur'ān, xlix 10 for *Millat*.

49. All Muslims irrespective of their ethnic origins are one.

50. All Arabs irrespective of their faith, although the majority is Muslim, are one.

51. The Caliphate represented some political unity. Khilāfatism was a strong movement in India to retain it.

52. *Rumūz*, p. 20. The doctrine of corporateness founded on the older notion of tribal solidarity is reflected in this quotation.

53. Ibid., p. 29, for both quotations.

54. Rūm = Asia Minor, especially Turkey in this context.

55. *Rumūz*, p. 75.

the Muslim and the Prophet ; it is *the* foundation of the Muslim brotherhood.[56] It enables the reconstitution of the self, as taught in the *Asrār* particularly, of many selves, viz. the Muslims, and of their once great and united world. This significant theme must be cast against the disunity which soon would become a political fact :

"Now Brotherhood has been so cut to shreds
That in the stead of the Community
The Country has been given pride of place
In men's allegiance and constructive work ;
The Country is the darling of their hearts,
And wide humanity is whittled down
Into dismembered tribes."[57]

Iqbāl bemoans the division because Islam knows no boundaries and the boundaryless Caliphate constituted one single world. He forecast its end and its subsequent partition. He prepared his readers for the shock in the following elegy :

"Vanished is humankind ; there but abide
The disunited nations. Politics
Dethroned religion. . . . "[58]

It also is autobiographical for it reflects the poet's sad feelings about the political situation when he wrote it. Although the Muslims must acknowledge the political reality, they never must forget that they form "one body" : the Islamic Community :

"The vigour of our wine is not contained
In any bowl ; Chinese and Indian
Alike the sherd that constitutes our jar,
Turkish and Syrian alike the clay
Forming our body. . . . "[59]

Iqbāl pleads for the continuation of the brotherhood feeling :

"If thou desirest everlasting life,
Break not the thread between the past and now
And the far future. What is Life ? A wave
Of consciousness of continuity. . . . "[60]

56. Ibid., pp. 75-76 for this general theme.
57. Ibid., p. 32.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 29.
60. Ibid., p. 62.

How can continuity be retained amidst chaos?—Through love:

"Love is the universal law of life,
Mingling the fragmentary elements
Of a disordered world. . . ."[61]

Love is Islam's supreme spiritual tenet permitting its persistence through the millennia while all the great past civilisations: Greek, Roman, Sasanian, too enamoured of the non-spiritual, died out. It furthermore enables the work of reconstruction, itself a labour of love and showing that the Muslims had not lost their former dynamism and inventiveness:

"The record of the past illuminates
The conscience of a People; memory
Of past achievements makes it self-aware. . . ."

The Islamic people should not forget their brilliant history:

"But if that memory fades, and is forgot,
The folk again is lost in nothingness."[62]

They must remember that "the old is set ablaze in new creation" and that, through its "new-worn consciousness," the energetic self "createth its own history". For

". . . the thing that maketh thee aware
Of thy true self, alert unto the task,
* * * *
This whets thee like a dagger on its sheath,
To dash thee in the face of all the world."[63]

Then,

" . . . When the burning brands
Of Time's great revolution ring our mead,
Then Spring returns. . . ."[64]

Fantastic lines hewing the promise to the deed!

What Iqbāl actually is saying in the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* is that the Muslims at the moment of their complete humiliation must not be dejected by temporary setbacks, because they are a

61. Ibid., p. 36.
62. Ibid., p. 61 for both quotations.
63. Ibid., pp. 61-62. 64. Ibid., p. 36.

great people as their past indicates—Amīr 'Alī's theme—and they will forge their twentieth-century revival. His prediction came true. He is also warning them to remain obedient to their Prophet's message and never forget his love, which cements their brotherhood.

The *Rumūz* presents a sound analysis of the then contemporary affairs. It is, as stated, a political, not a psychological or a mystical, tractate if some sections in it reiterate the refrain basic to the *Asrār-i-Khudī* : awareness of one's potential leads to dynamism and social improvement. It warns that secularism is destructive and counsels conformity with the Arab-born Prophet's ways (*Sunnah*) : "Conform thyself with Arab ways to be a Muslim true."[65] Iqbāl's severe indictment : "Politics dethroned religion"[66] in the West reveals his agreement with other Muslims that politics is not divorced from religion in Islam. His conviction that Western politics is soulless, because it ignores peoples' needs and results in destruction rather than construction, in division rather than harmony, never left him, as one of his last great compositions: the *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* (1935) also shows:

"Music of strange lands with Islam's fire blends,
On which the nation's harmony depends ;
Empty of concord is the soul of Europe,
Whose civilization to no Mecca bends."[67]

In a still later published work, the *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm* (1936), he makes the following pertinent statement followed by his doubtful question:

"Reality grows blurred to eyes whose vision
Servility and parrot-ways abridge.
Can Persia or Arabia suck new life
From Europe's culture, itself at the grave's edge?"[68]

The strong "No" in answer to this question, containing at the same time again a prediction of a forthcoming holocaust, viz. the Second World War which began two years after his death, confirms Islam's supreme worth.

65. Ibid. 66. Ibid., p. 32.
67. *Bāl-i-Jibrīl*, p. 117. Tr. Kiernan, op. cit., p. 36.
68. *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm*, p. 68. Tr. Kiernan, op. cit., p. 66.

The "Mysteries of Selflessness" is social rather than individualistic, for it insists that Muslim's perfection and salvation lie in the *Millat*. It also gives added fuel to those contending that in it Iqbāl preached sedition. It connects with the *Asrār-i-Khudī* whose continuation it is, because the first deals with the preliminary need of arousing the Muslim to regain his selfhood and the second which reiterates this and other themes (love, action, etc.) stresses fraternity and the joining of all selves in the common task of rebuilding their fragmented world. "The last lines in *Asrar* are styled 'Prayer' and those in *Rumuz* are styled 'Submission before the Holy Prophet'. Iqbal considered these lines as some of the best he had ever written."[69]

An Invocation

O Thou that art as the soul in the body of the universe,
Thou art our soul end Thou art ever fleeing from us.
Thou breathest music into Life's lute;
Life envies Death when death is for Thy sake
Once more bring comfort to our sad hearts,
Once more dwell in our breasts!
Once more demand from us the sacrifice of name and fame,
Strengthen our weak love.
We are oft complaining of destiny,
Thou art of great price and we have naught.
Hide not Thy fair face from the empty-handed!
Sell cheap the love of Salman and Bilal!
Give us the sleepless eye and the passionate heart,
Give us again the nature of quicksilver!
Show unto us one of Thy manifest signs,
That the necks of our enemies may be bowed!
Make this chaff a mountain crested with fire,
Burn with our fire all that is not God!
When the people of Islam let the thread of Unity go from their
hands,
They fell into a hundred mazes.
We are dispersed like stars in the world;
Though of the same family, we are strange to one another.
Bind again these scattered leaves,
Revive the law of love!
Take us back to serve Thee as of old,
Commit Thy cause to them that love thee!

69. S. A. Vahid, op. cit., p. 22.

We are travellers: give us resignation as our goal!
Give us the strong faith of Abraham!
Make us know the meaning of "There is no God."
Make us acquainted with the mystery of "except Allah!"
I who burn like a candle for the sake of others
Teach myself to weep like the candle.
O God! a tear that is heart-enkindling,
Passionful, wrung forth by pain, peace-consuming,
May I sow in the garden, and may it grow into a fire
That washes away the fire-brand from the tulips robe!
My heart is with yestereve, my eye is on tomorrow:
Amidst the company I am alone.
"Every one fancies he is my friend,
But none ever sought the secrets within my soul."
Oh, where in the wide world is my comrade?
I am the Bush of Sinai: where is my Moses?
I am tyrannous, I have done many a wrong to myself,
I have nourished a flame in my bosom,
A flame that burnt to ashes the wares of understanding,
Cast fire on the skirt of discretion,
Lessened with madness the proud reason,
And inflamed the very being of knowledge:
Its blaze enthrones the sun in the sky
And lightnings encircle it with adoration for ever.
Mine eye fell to weeping, like dew,
Since I was entrusted with that hidden fire.
I taught the candle to burn openly,
While I myself burned unseen by the world's eye.
At last flames burst forth from every hair of me,
Fire dropped from the veins of my thought:
My nightingale picked up the spark grains
And created a fire-tempered song.
The breast of this age is without a heart,
Majnun quivers with pain because Laila's howdah is empty.
It is not easy for the candle to throb alone;
Ah, is there no moth worthy of me?
How long shall I wait for one to share my grief?
How long must I search for a confidant?
O Thou whose face lends light to the moon and the stars,
Withdraw Thy fire from soul!
Take back what Thou hast put in my breast,
Remove the stabbing radiance from my mirror,
Or give me one old comrade
To be the mirror of mine all-burning love!
In the sea wave tosses side by side with wave;

Each hath a partner in its emotion.
In heaven star consorts with star,
And the bright moon lays her head on the knees of Night.
Morning touches Night's dark side,
And Today throws itself against Tomorrow.
One river loses its being in another,
A waft of air dies in perfume.
There is dancing in every nook of the wilderness,
Madman dances with madman.
Because in Thine essence Thou art single,
Thou hast evolved for Thyself a whole world.
I am as the tulip of the field,
In the midst of a company I am alone.
I beg of Thy grace a sympathising friend,
And adept in the mysteries of my nature,
A friend endowed with madness and wisdom,
One that knoweth not the phantom of vain things,
That I may confide my lament to his soul
And see again my face in his heart.
His image I will mould of mine own clay,
I will be to him both idol and worshipper.[70]

The Author's Memorial to Him who is a Mercy to All Living Beings

O thou, whose manifesting was the youth
Of strenuous life, whose bright epiphany
Told the interpretation of life's dreams,
Earth attained honour, having held thy court,
And heaven glory, having kissed thy roof.
Thy face illumes the six-directioned world;
Turk, Tajik, Arab—all thy servants are.
Whatever things have being, find in thee
True exaltation, and thy poverty
Is their abundant riches. In this world
Thou litst the lamp of life, as thou didst teach
God's servitors a godly mastery.
Without thee, whatsoever form indwelt
This habitat of water and of clay
Was put to shame in utter bankruptcy;
Till, when thy breath drew fire from the cold dust
And Adam made of earth's dead particles,
Each atom caught the skirts of sun and moon,

70. *Secrets of the Self*. tr. by R. A. Nicholson (Lahore: 1969, Sh, Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 141-48.

Suddenly conscious of its inward strength.
Since first my gaze alighted on thy face
Dearer than father and dear mother thou
Art grown to me. Thy love hath lit a flame
Within my heart ; ah, let it work at ease,
For all my spirit is consumed in me,
And my sole chattel is a reed-like sigh,
The lantern flickering in my ruined house.
It is not possible not to declare
This hidden grief ; it is not possible
To veil the wine in the translucent cup.
But now the Muslim is estranged anew
Unto the Prophet's secret ; now once more
God's sanctuary is an idols' shrine ;
Manat and Lat, Hubal and Uzza—each
Carries an idol to his bosom clasped ;
Our Shaikh—no Brahman is so infidel,
Seeing his Somnath stands within his head.
Arabia deserted, he is gone
With all his being's baggage, slumberous
To drowse in Persia's wine-vault. Persia's sleet
Has set his limbs a-shiver ; his thin wine
Runs colder than his tears. As timorous
Of death as any infidel, his breast
Is hollow, empty of a living heart.
I bore him lifeless from the doctors' hands
And brought him to the Prophet's presence ; dead
He was ; I told him of the Fount of Life,
I spoke with him upon a mystery
Of the Koran, a tale of the Beloved
Of Nejd ; I brought to him a perfume sweet
Pressed from the roses of Arabia.
The candle of my music lit the throng ;
I taught the people life's enigma ; still
He cried against me, "These are Europe's spells
He weaves to bind us with, the psaltery
Of Europe that he strikes into our ears."
O thou, that to Busiri gavest a Cloak
And to my fingers yielded Salma's lute,
Grant now to him, whose thoughts are so astray
That he can no more recognize his own,
Perception of the truth, and joy therein.
Be lustreless the mirror of my heart,
Or be my words by aught but the Koran
Informed, O thou whose splendour is the dawn

Of every age and time, whose vision sees
All that is in men's breasts, rend now the veil
Of my thought's shame; sweep clean the avenue
Of my offending thorns; choke in my breast
The narrow breath of life; thy people guard
Against the mischief of my wickedness;
Nurse not to verdure my untimely seed,
Grant me no portion of Spring's fecund showers,
Wither the vintage in my swelling grapes
And scatter poison in my sparkling wine;
Disgrace me on the Day of Reckoning,
Too abject to embrace thy holy feet.
But if I ever threaded on my chain
The pearl of the Koran's sweet mysteries,
If to the Muslims I have spoken true,
O thou whose bounty raises the obscure
Unto significance, one prayer from thee
Is ample guerdon for my words' desert;
Plead thou to God my cause, and let my love
Be locked in the embrace of godly deeds.
Thou hast accorded me a contrite soul,
A part of holy learning; stablish me
More firm in action, and my April shower
Convert to pearls of great and glittering price.
Since first I cast the baggage of my soul
In this world's caravanserai, one more
Desire I ever nourished, like my heart
Dwelling within my breast, mine intimate
From life's first dawn; since first I learned thy name
From my sire's lips, the flame of that desire
Kindled and glowed in me. My roll of days
As heaven lengthens, in life's lottery
Marking me loser, ever lustier grows
The youth of my desire; this ancient wine
Gains greater body with the passing years.
This yearning is a gem beneath my dust,
A single star illumining my night.
Awhile with rosy cheeks did I consort,
Played love with twisted tresses, tasted wines
With lustrous brows, the lamp of godly peace
Rudely extinguished; lightnings danced about
My harvest; my heart's store of merchandise
By highwaymen was plundered. Yet this draught
Was spilled not from the goblet of my soul,
This gold refined not scattered from my skirt.

My reason diabolical resolved
To wear the Magian girdle ; its impress
Stamped o'er mv spirit's furrows. Many years
I was doubt's prisoner, inseparable
From my too arid brain. I had not read
One letter of true knowledge, and abode
Still in philosophy's conjecture-land ;
My darkness was a stranger to the light
Of God, my dust knew not the glow of dawn.
And yet this yearning slumbered in my heart,
Close-shrouded as the pearl within the shell ;
But lastly from the goblet of mine eye
It slowly trickled, and within my mind
Created melodies. And now my soul
Is emptied of all memories but thee ;
I will be bold to speak of my desire,
If thou wilt give me leave. My life hath been
Unfurnished in good works, and therefore I
Might not aspire to worthiness of this,
Which to reveal I am too much ashamed ;
Yet thy compassion maketh me more bold.
The honey of thy mercy comforteth
The whole round world ; and this my yearning is,
That I be granted in Hejaz to die!
A Muslim, stranger to all else but God—
How long shall he the heathen girdle wear
And keep the temple ? O the bitter shame
If, when his earthly days are at an end,
A pagan shrine receives his mortal bones.
If from thy door my scattered parts arise,
Woe to this day, that morrow how sublime !
O happy city that thy dwelling was,
Thrice-blessed earth wherein thou dost repose !
"My friend's abode, the city of my king—
True patriotism this, the lover's creed."
Give to my star an ever-wakeful eye,
And in the shadow of the wall a place
To slumber, that my restless heart at last
May find repose, my spirit's quicksilver
Be stilled ; that I may say unto the skies,
"Behold me, tranquil ; ye who looked upon
My first beginning, witness now my close."[71]

71. *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, tr. A.J. Arberry (London : 1953, John Murray), pp. 79-83.

His insistence on freewill (advocated by the Qadariyyah sect) which Rūmī also emphasised *versus* predestination or determinism (accepted by the Jabarīyah) underlies both works. They attest to his interests and insight in contemporary affairs at a time when he was not politically active and they may be said to have been written for political purposes. They lastly show some facets of his own personality: he had lost—if he ever fully had it—his admiration for the West which he regarded totally secularised, blaming its frustrations causing its great wars as well as the resulting turmoil in the East on that fact. From his European student days until his last moments he never changed his view, at least on this issue. His fervent love for Islam explains his anti-Westernism. If he silently admired the Europeans for their philosophical and literary tradition as well as for their energetic involvement in life, thereby bringing about a scientific revolution,[72] he rejected their culture as barren. Interestingly he cited the same argument which the Catholic theologian and historian Saint Augustine (354-430)[73] used against the non-Christian Roman world. The *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* was well received and it was as successful as its predecessor in its aim: the Muslims' conversion to the doctrine of political activism.

While he was working on it, he not only wrote other poems, but also an essay entitled: "Muslim Democracy."[74] Its main theses are that democracy is Islamic political doctrine and that it is spiritual, not secular, in nature. The first point made by all Muslims derives from the teaching that all Muslims, regardless of their ethnic origin, station in life, etc., are equal under God so that they have the right to participate in government and have the same educational and economic opportunities.

72. The discovery of electricity with its undreamt-of range of possibilities, for example.

73. Author of the *City of God*, a monumental investigation into the causes for the decline of the Roman Empire. It is the first theological history and its major argument is that lack of faith in and love for Jesus Christ and God the Father caused its downfall.

74. It appeared in the (1916) *New Era*; *vide* Maryam Jameelah, *Islam versus the West* (Lahore: 1968, Muhammad Yusuf Khan), p. 93, for a quotation from it.

Islam made faith, not birth, its criterion of distinction, as the Qur'ān teaches:

> ". . . Verily
> The most honoured of you
> In the sight of God
> Is the most
> Righteous of you. . . ."[75]

It taught a new principle: that aristocracy lies in piety and in doing good which it enjoins on all Muslims who will be judged by God accordingly. "Establish regular prayers," admonishes the Qur'ān, "and practise regular charity."[76] Since all Muslims are brothers, none may be discriminated against; none may be ridiculed: for arrogance has no place in Islam:

"O ye who believe! let not some men among you laugh at others: it may be that the (latter) are better than the (former); nor let some women laugh at others: it may be that the (latter) are better than the (former); nor defame nor be sarcastic to each other. . . ."[77]

As humility is a praiseworthy trait for the low- as for the high-born, and rooted in a pious heart, it marks a truly noble man. The stress on equality furthermore explains why Islam has no priesthood;[78] instead, it gave rise to a group of men learned in the Qur'ān: the theologians (*'ulamā'*)[79] and the judges (*qāḍīs*), while the *imāms*[80] are no more than prayer leaders acting also as teachers in the villages. Islam, therefore, radically transformed the

75. Qur'ān, xlix. 13 (in part).

76. Ibid., ix. 12 (in part).

77. Ibid., xlix. 11 (in part).

78. Cf. *Reconstruction*, p. 126 on this topic.

79. Another term is: *mujtahid* (cf. *ijtihād* or individual reasoning) used by the Shī'ites, the second major branch in Islam apart from the Sunnites. The Shī'ites, whose majority is found in Iran, but are present in Iraq and other lands, consider the *mujtahid* as one who knows the Qur'ān and Traditions completely.

80. Shī'ite Islam has a doctrine of the Imamate meaning that esoteric knowledge is passed from Muḥammad's blood relations to their successors. The Seveners and Twelvers hold that their last *imām* is "hidden" and that the *mujtahids* who arise in every age are their representatives. The Shī'ite doctrine, therefore, is totally different from the Sunnite thesis.

social structure wherever it penetrated, be it in Iran,[81] China,[82] India or elsewhere. Its idea of democracy in a more political sense differs from the older Greek idea which seeped into later European constitutions; according to Islam, the people must be advised of their ruler's plans, decisions, actions, because he is in their service. It has nothing do with the voting-election principle.[83] The reason for Islam's stress on consultation is that the head of government loyal to Allah and to Muḥammad's legacy is responsible for his people's welfare. They keep the balance of power, so to say, by advising him of their consent or dissent and by making their ideas and wishes known to him. He must keep these in mind in formulating his policies.[84] This is the general Muslim interpretation of Islamic democracy to which Dr Iqbāl subscribed. He wrote in "Muslim Democracy":

"'The democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that in every human being is a centre of potential power for good, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. From the poorest, simplest common people Islam has shaped individuals leading the noblest kind of life.'"[85]

He again conforms to Qur'ānic teaching in saying here that man is created essentially good, if weak[86] which accounts at once for the possibility of his salvation and his erring from God's teachings. His and the Muslims' view that Islam considers democracy "a spiritual principle" (to use his own words) has been noted above. His statement that "the extension of economic opportunity"

81. *Vide* Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge: 1962, Cambridge University Press), pp. 69-70.

82. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

83. *Vide* "My Interview with Maulānā Abu al-A'lā Maudūdī at Lahore (5 September 1969)," in *Islamic Literature* (Sh Muhammad Ashraf, Ed , Lahore), Vol. XVI, No. 3, March 1970, pp 159-61.

84. While later Pakistan's Presidents not always adhered to this prescribed conduct, the rulers of Afghanistan, Jordan, for instance, cannot retain their powers without consulting the Shaikhs acting as their people's representatives.

85 Quoted from Maryam Jameela, op cit , p 93.

86. Qur'ān, xcv. 4 on man's goodness; iv. 28 on his weakness.

did not give rise to Islamic democracy is extremely interesting. Did he think, when he wrote this passage, of the French and American Revolutions with their strong economic undertone? What he is saying is that in the Islamic world the development occurred in the reverse: from its non-aristocratic viewpoint arose a democratic structure, extending to equality in all spheres, inclusive of the economic. The basic reason for his argument lies, of course, in his insistence on Islam's spiritual nature. He presents here his philosophy of Islamic economics *versus* Western theory, ignoring the actual economic practices which developed in those lands that fell under Muslim rule.[87] Iqbāl's idealism must be seen against his anti-Materialism. He is nevertheless right in stating that economic opportunities *legally* had to be and in actuality were extended to all Muslims[88] because they as members of the *Millat* have equal rights. His historical thesis, namely, that the Christian majority had no such privileges under the Law of Christ *at least as it was executed by the State authorities* in medieval and in Renaissance times—hence the Revolution in France, if not in America[89]—is not invalid either. What he was trying ty do, in other words, was to contract the economic theory and practice as it evolved in the Islamic East and the Christian West. This is not a mean task, particularly when trying to do it, as he did, in a few lines.

The final cause for his strong defence of Islam as a "spiritual democracy" is the aristocratic idea expressed by Nietzsche of whom Iqbāl wrote in the cited article: "Nietzsche abhors the democratic rule by the herd of hopeless plebians and bases all higher culture on the cultivation of an aristocracy of supermen.' "

87. *Vide* Levy, op. cit., pp. 355, 299 ff , and 360 ff. for the financial administration since the beginning of the Islamic era. Although agreements were made with the bedouins on tax amounts which they were to pay to the State and taxes were remitted in times of drought, the financial burdens often were great.

88. Although the Muslim victors relied on non-Muslims to assure administrative continuity during the immediate post-conquest years, converts to Islam later had prior access to State and municipal organs.

89. It has been remarked that "Evolution" rather than "Revolution" should be the word applied to the American freedom movement.

Continuing by saying that the plebeian Muslims did not face a hopeless life for stated reasons, he asks: " 'Is not then the democracy of Islam a tangible refutation of Nietzsche's ideas?' "[90] Iqbāl undoubtedly regarded the Nietzschean thesis as a philosophical expression of European ideology, which nourished Fascism and Hitlerism with its genocide doctrine. Although both Islam and Christianity embrace the thesis of nobility by faith, he accurately implied an essential distinction between them, which is: Islam's tolerance of non-Muslims within its body politic[91] *versus* Christianity's failure to suppress the race ideology which its adherents as Indo-Europeans[92] carry in their very soul. Hence, the latter logically can, as they did, advocate mass murders on the basis of race under the excuse of the "nobility" of their blood and supremacy of their faith.[93] Iqbāl witnessed the rise of Fascism long after he wrote his article on "Muslim Democracy"; the Hitlerian holocaust, which he did not live to see, proved his analysis of the consequences of Nietzsche's doctrine as applied to the political sphere to be correct.

Iqbāl's reference in this early essay to the heroic type who does not appear in a more central role until he wrote his *Jāvīd Nāmah* (1932) cannot be said, then, to express his preference for

90. Cf. Maryam Jameelah, op. cit , p. 93, for both quotations. The word "plebeian" is more current than "plebian," but both are derived from the Latin *plebs* or "common folk".

91. The poll-tax (*jizyah*) payable by non-Muslims resident in an Islamic State is interpreted by Western scholars as discrimination. Muslims retort that it is a levy covering the protection cost of minorities exempt from serving in the army. The latter point relates to the view, held also by the Christians in earlier times, that those of a different faith cannot be entrusted with defence.

92. An ethnological term describing the "Caucasian" race, whose origin may be the Caucasus region. Greeks, Romans, Germans, *et al* belonged thereto. The terms *arya* and *varna*, respectively meaning "noble" and "colour," denoting purity of blood, are found in the Sanskrit *Vedas*, the Hindu holy books.

93. Political considerations add to the Christians' policies toward minorities living among them as well as toward their co-religionists, many of whom also suffered torture and death in the Middle Ages and in the Stalinist-Hitlerian era.

an aristocratic Superman. It would imply rather his admiration for those who courageously were bent on attaining their goal in the face of vicissitudes.

While he was writing this article and the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, the First World War (1914-1918) was throwing Europe and the Caliphate in chaos.[94]

What was happening in India between 1912 and 1918? Before stating briefly the events transpiring during these six years, a group of outstanding figures—old and new—need mentioning. M. Shiblī (d. 1914) and Ḥālī (d. 1914) passed away at the War's outbreak. The Muslims Viqār-ul-Mulk (d. 1917) and Mian Shāh Dīn (d 1918)[95] and the Hindus G.K. Gokhale (d.1915) and D. Naoroji (d. 1917) expired while it raged. Tilak (d. 1920), Congress President in 1914,[96] M. Ghose (d. 192-), S. Banerjea (d. 1925), Amīr 'Alī (d. 1928) and Muḥammad 'Alī (d. 1930) were still active during that period. Some literati and politicians born earlier in the nineteenth century would continue their career into the 1930's, e.g. the Hindus Motilal Nehru (1861-1931),[97] B.C. Pal (d. 1932), Sankaran Nair (1857-1934)[98] and the Muslims Sir M. Shafī' (1869-1932), M. 'Alī's brother Shaukat 'Alī (1873-1937) and Dr M. Iqbāl (1877-1938). Many among the old guard would remain on the political stage through the forties and witness the Second World War such as the Muslims M.A. Jinnāḥ (d. 1948), the Aga Khan (d. 1958), the Hindus C.H. Setalvad (1866-1947),[99] V.S.

94. He also remarried between 1916 and 1917 to a sister (d. 23 May 1935) of Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Ghanī. She bore him a daughter and a son. Iqbāl married for a third time in 1919-20.

95. His appointment as the Punjab's Chief Court Judge was cut short by his presidentship of that province's first Provincial Muslim League.

96. He had been jailed in 1897-1898 and again in 1908-1914 for "seditious" journalism.

97. Father of India's future Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Congress President in 1919 and 1928.

98. Congress President in 1897; member of Viceroy's Council and Secretary of State for India's Council respectively in 1915-1919 and 1920-1921.

99. Considered a liberal, he, like many Hindu politicians, was a lawyer by profession. He later became President of the National Liberal Federation of India (1928 and 1937).

Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946),[100] and A. Ghose (d. 1950). Other older politicians like the Hindus T.B. Sapru (1875-1949)[101] and Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950)[102] born only two years before Iqbāl, would not gain attention until the beginning of the twentieth century. Neither would Iqbāl's somewhat junior co-religionist, Dr Anṣārī (1880-1936). They would share the limelight with a younger group of lawyers, politicians and journalists. Among them were the Hindus Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), India's future Prime Minister,[103] Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945),[104] influenced as were most Congress members by their elder M.K. Gandhi (1869-1948), who meanwhile returned from South Africa to India (in 1915).[105] Among the budding Muslims were: Sayyid Faḍl ul-Ḥasan Ḥasrat Mohānī (1878-1951),[106] Abu'l-Kalām Āzād (1886-1958),[107] Maulvī Ẓafar 'Alī Khān (1889-1958)[108]—he died in the same year as the Aga Khan—and Sayyid 'Abdullah Brelvī (1892-1949).[109] The roster is necessarily incomplete. The range in their political viewpoint can be gauged from the journals some of them started and which became a forum of Hindu and Muslim senti-

100. He, too, became President of the mentioned Federation (1922) apart from other high offices, culminating in becoming Vice-Chancellor of Annamali University (1935-1940). He authored the *Life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, 1937.

101. Another lawyer who joined the Viceroy's Council (1920-1923) and, like those mentioned, presided over the National Liberal Federation of India (1923, 1927).

102. He became Congress President (in 1931) and India's Deputy Prime Minister (1947-1950).

103. Congress President (1929, 1936, 1937, 1946, 1951-1954), India's Prime Minister (1947-1964), author of an autobiography: *The Discovery of India*, apart from his speeches, etc.

104. Congress President (1938, 1939), went to Germany (1942), and founded the Indian National Army (1943).

105. He had left in 1893, fought on the British side in the Boer War and Zulu uprising and published his *Hind Swaraj* or "Indian Freedom" while in South Africa (in 1909).

106. He was President of the All-India Muslim League (in 1921).

107. He was Congress President (1923 and 1939-1946), then India's Education Minister (1947-1958).

108. He was a prominent Punjabi Khilāfatist.

109. He, like Dr Iqbāl, was a swarajist in that word's fullest sense.

ments. Muḥammad 'Alī, an Aligarh graduate, launched two journals : the English *Comrade* (1 Jaunary 1911) and the Urdu *Hamdard* (early 1913).[110] Abu'l-Kalām Āzād began publishing his newspaper *al-Hilāl* (13 July 1912). Maulvī Ẓafar 'Alī Khān, "Aligarhian" in his outlook, edited the *Zamīndār*, and his compatriot Brelvī edited (1920-1949) the *Bombay Chronicle.* Gandhi, like Muḥammad 'Alī, edited two publications : the *Harijan* in his native tongue, Gujarati, and the English weekly : *Young India.* Other Hindu organs of that era were the *Tribune* and the *Bengalee.* In the Muslim journals, appearing before the First World War, Pan-Islamism was a strong theme ; added to it were *svaraj* and Khilāfatism. The Hindu organs demanded *svaraj* and, joining the Muslim voice in a period of high emotion, Khilāfatism as well, while Non-Co-operation would become a Muslim-Hindu dominant motif (*c.* 1920-1922). However, communalism did not disappear from the columns and as they as well as the speeches, Congress and League reports, formal Government issues and statements, and other diverse writings were to show, there was divided opinion among Muslims as among Hindus on the interpretation of *svaraj*.

Communalism and Nationalism. Communalism is anchored in religion, race, customs. Many diverse races, some of whom trace their origins back to prehistoric times,[111] inhabit India. Dominant became the Hindus who are of Indo-European descent and the Muslims comprising Tartar, Afghan, Turkish and Persian stock. While the Hindus retained ancient polytheism,[112] the Muslims as stated adhere to Islam, and have contempt for the idolators. Regarding some of their respective customs, cow-worship associated with the notion of the mother-cow and hence,

110. The journals were confiscated during the War when he, like so many others, was imprisoned. His attempt to revive them in the 1920's was unsuccessful.

111. The Dravidians, for example, who were pushed south of the Vindhya range during the Indo-European invisions ; Bengal's Khonds and other groups whose origins are still being studied.

112. A Greek word meaning "belief in many gods". Indian religion contains a great diversity of religious forms, ranging from Nature-worship to monism.

with Mother India as food-giver—India was primarily agrarian in earlier times[113]—is central to Hinduism. The Muslims do not. As beef-eaters, they get into great friction with the Hindus who reject cow-slaughter.[114] Rarely, at least in the cities, do they share a meal. In addition, the Hindus have their castes which may not intermingle in marriage or otherwise; any non-Brahmin daring to enter a restaurant reserved for the highest caste would be thrown out.[115] Their rites and festivals differ; no Muslim celebrates days set aside for Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth; India's Mother-Goddess Devi (Durga or Kali)[116] and other deities; no Hindu fasts in the month of Ramaḍān in commemoration of the Qur'ān's revelation and makes the pilgrimage to Mecca enjoined on Muslims. The mingling of both groups in the rural areas where joint celebrations are held was favoured little by the leaders of either "community". The theme of a "pure" faith divested from Hindu trappings became central to the teachings of many a medieval Muslim. If Hindu and Muslim stand apart because of their race, religion, practices, other historico-political factors augmented their hostile feelings toward each other. The Muslims were military aggressors who conquered North India (thirteenth century C.E.) and replaced Hindu rule until the British took over (1857). They found it difficult to forget their erstwhile supremacy in India, an additional reason why they smarted under their defeat. Besides, the Hindus suffering humiliation never fully forgave the Muslims for it. Their re-emergence during the nineteenth century can be seen, therefore, as a form of revenge over a once triumphant foreign race, itself dejected under a nineteenth-century conqueror. Lastly, the Hindus' "renaissance" was possible because they, like the British, originally were Indo-European and, therefore, share a basic ideology. Their fierce

113. The impact of industrialisation and the new technology is felt increasingly throughout India and Pakistan (formerly Islamic India).

114. It led to many sharp encounters. The Hindu majority still is vegetarian.

115. The caste system has been breaking down during the last decades. The breakdown is aided by the fact that many farmers come to the cities for work. Caste notions seeped into Muslim life.

116. Kali in her wrathful aspect; Durga in her beneficial role.

freedom cry which the British occupation and political doctrine stimulated, but which might have remained ineffective if the Muslims had stayed in power, may be rooted partly in their desire for revenge, which further would explain the Muslims' fear.[117] The "fathomless depths" of the differences between them was sealed by the political situation. When Indian Islam now found itself under British rule and law, it could not ever completely accept it because it has its own Constitution: the Qur'ān, and its own Code: the *Sharī'ah*, its own theologians' decrees: *fatwās*, and its own communal accord: *ijmā'*. They who had lost their sovereignty wanted it back, but now they were facing another problem: that of regained Hindu superiority in the echelons of government. They knew that the Hindus no longer would consent to Muslim dominance in a free India. A new fear enwrapped them: would they be squashed by the other numerically larger community? As the years wore on, their answer, unfortunately based on a number of facts, grew more affirmative. Two questions faced them: should they remain loyal to the British, if only for their own protection, and, therefore, not let them leave India, if this ever came to be? If they agree with the Hindus on freedom, what guarantees for their survival as a Muslim Urdu-speaking community would they be given? They ultimately did not trust the Hindus and opted for a separated Islamic India, to be called Pakistan.

The first decade of the twentieth century already showed that communalism would remain the form taken by Indo-Muslim nationalism. Two indications were: (1) the founding of the All-India Muslim League to act as Islamic India's spokesman and to wean Muslims away from Congress; (2) Nawāb Viqār-ul-Mulk's (1907) advice that the Muslims shun "'the agitational politics of the Congress,'" meaning that they should not advocate the British departure from India which would leave his co-religionists exposed to Hindu dominance. They should consider themselves "'soldiers of a British regiment'" and "'help in the continuance of the British rule,' 'for if the British rule disappears from India,

117. Their desire for revenge may be viewed as important as the numerical issue for their attempts to suppress Islam where possible.

Hindus will lord it over it'."[118] If such men as Shafi' and the Aga Khan agreed with Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and other nineteenth-century leaders that resistance to the British was not to the Indian Mussalman's best interests, they said something different from what such Hindus as Sastri and Sapru held. These and like-minded Hindus accepted British leadership mainly because it led to their political revival and economic advancement, which was in sharp contrast with Muslim India's decadence. The fear of suppression aggravated by communal incidences, press themes, other writings, speeches and organised manifestations intensified the communalist orientation and caused it to become *the* answer to Indian political realities. The Hindus insisted that their faith is supreme, universal, immortal and that *their land is sacred because of its religion.* A. Ghose had stated on the first topic in a (1908) speech before the Society for the Protection of Religion after coming out of prison: "That which we call the Hindu religion is really the eternal religion, because it is the universal religion, which embraces all others."[119] Hence, it must be protected, upraised and extended. His statement before a Bombay audience soon after the (1907) Congress split, when he defined nationalism as "a creed," illumines the religious aspect of patriotism. He said:

"If you are going to be a nationalist, if you are going to assent to this *religion of Nationalism*, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God. . . . *Nationalism has come to the people as a religion, and it has been accepted as a religion* . . . Nationalism survives in the strength of God. . . . Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die; it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed. . . ."[120]

Such theses were formulated[121] in answer to the Christians' belief

118. S R. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* (New York : 1965, Fred A. Praeger), p. 181, text and footnote "2. Cited in Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims : A Political History* (1959), pp. 101-2."

119. A. Ghose, *Speeches* (Calcutta : 1948, Arya Publishing House), p. 79.

120 Ibid , p. 8. Italics ours.

121. The Hindus, like the Christians and other peoples, always have regarded their religion to be supreme. They stressed it latter under adverse circumstances.

in the superiority of their faith, in defence of Indian freedom as well as to make nationalism more palatable to the Hindu masses. They account for the growth of that religio-political creed called communalism. The Hindu view was a challenge to the Muslim who regarded his faith as supreme. How could he be an Indian patriot if Hinduism would be forced down his and his children's throat because it would not accept Islam's validity ? That explains outwardly the Muslim fear dominant from the late 1850's until the late 1940's. It also illumines the reason why one of Muḥammad 'Alī's organs was dubbed the "Communal Patriot," which took to task many Hindu newspapers, including the *Bengalee* and the *Tribune*, for their constant criticism of the League and the Muslim leaders' efforts to obtain safeguards for their co-religionists. It was only during the high tide of Khilāfatism when anti-British feeling became a unifying force among the Indian population at large that his *Comrade*—as did many Hindu and other Muslim journals—began to be non-communalist and reflect Indian nationalism in a broader sense. However, such nationalism was a veneer which again would become clear after 1922. Its real meaning lay in a religious identification. It is, therefore, that the term "Indian Muslim" rather than "Indian" is used in Indo-Islamic historical texts ; the cognomen "Muslim Indian" is more appropriate within the nineteenth-twentieth-century context. Although many Muslims continued to fit the first description, the second one is more suitable for Islamic India's majority. It furnishes an indication why the 'Alī brothers, Dr Anṣārī, Āzād and many (if not all) outstanding Muslims could and did consider themselves at once nationalists, communalists, pan-Islamists and Khilāfatists, provoking Mehrotta's comment that, during the Khilāfat era, "Pan-Islamism and nationalism became allies."[122] They were nationalists in the sense that they accepted the more secular idea of loyalty to country ; communalists, because they defended their faith and their people ; pan-Islamists as members of the *Millat* ; Khilāfatists because of their concern with the Caliphate's fate. Pan-Islamism itself as a particular political

122. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 186.

doctrine arose in the nineteenth-century climate of growing nationalism, when the cry for Pan-Slavism, etc., went up. Khilāfatism dealt with a particular idea of governmental structure in the Islamic world which became unified when the new faith extended beyond Arabia's frontiers and politically united many parts of the Middle East.[123] That it represented sovereignty and strength apart from unity has been stated. In all the above-cited roles, they were concerned with freedom, the single major issue on which they concurred with their Hindu contemporaries and the defunct generations.

Suaraj—*Its Interpretation.* Together and separately they debated in the second as in the first decade of our century on the question: what form should it take: Dominion Status, i.e. freedom within the Empire, *or* full independence? Nawāb Viqār-ul-Mulk and Sir Sayyid 'Alī Imām (1869-1932)[124] had preferred co-operation with the British as late as 1907 and 1908. They continued to accept it in the 1910's, because said the Nawāb:

"'We are numerically one-fifth of the other community. If at any time the British government ceases to exist in India, we shall have to live as the subjects of the Hindus, and our property, our self-respect and our religion will be all in danger. . . . If there is any device by which we can escape this, it is by the continuance of the British Raj, and our interests can be safeguarded only if we ensure the continuance of the British government.'"[125]

The Aligarh viewpoint implied in this statement also was embraced by Sastri, Sapru and others. Muḥammad 'Alī preferred, on the other hand, as did C.H. Setalvad, "'a suitable form of Self-Government for India.'"[126] It meant in their language Dominion Status[127] embraced by Jinnāḥ (until 1920), Mohānī (until 1921) Āzād, Dr Anṣārī, Gandhi, M. Nehru, to cite a few leaders. Messrs

123. Iran and India were not included in the old Caliphates.

124. Member of the Viceroy's Council, 1910-1915. He stood entirely in the Nawāb's political camp.

125. Ikram, op. cit., p. 117, next and footnote "1 Quoted in *Tazkirah-i-Viqar*, pp. 169-170."

126. Ibid., p. 162.

127. The expression "Dominion Status" was used first in the 1919 Crewe Committee Report. (*Vide* Mehratta, op. cit., p. 228, text and footnote 7.)

Shaukat 'Alī, S.C. Bose, J. Nehru already advocated full independence, to which view Jinnāḥ and Maulvī Mohānī swung later. If the first group were influenced by such men as S. Banerjea and M. Ghose, the second followed K. Pal and A. Ghose, *et al.*, whose view would triumph in the end. So would communalism, therefore, as Islamic India ultimately could not see itself as an integrate part of Hindu India, subject to its government.

Where did Iqbāl stand on the several mentioned issues? His earliest poems show his intense loyalty to Islam, his nationalism apart from his love for Nature. He was more of a pan-Islamist in his religious than in his personal political ideology, explicable by his birth in and deep concern for the Indo-Muslim community. He was not a Khilāfatist wherein he—like Jinnāḥ—diverged from the 'Alī brothers' stand. He was not anti-British, as he, like many Indians, had some emotional feelings for them, but he also concurred with the Aligarh view that co-operation would be of advantage to the members of Indian Islam. He nevertheless stood for *svaraj*. The question is: *Freedom* within or without the British Empire *for India or for Muslim—apart from Hindu—India*? Light on his position is shed by his (1909) statement that the type of nationalism taught by Islam is willingness to die for "love of one's country". It seems contradictory to a Pan-Islamist view, but Iqbāl (*a*) tried to link the older brotherhood idea with the newer political notion of the state *vis a vis* the Caliphal experience; and (*b*) wished to warn the Muslims that they do not elevate the novel notion of citizenship and secular patriotism above the Qur'ānic doctrine of membership in the polity (*Millat*). The religious connotation in his definition of nationalism is clear. If it is connected with the vanished hope of his youth for Hindu-Muslim unity which he had said (in 1909) was "but a beautiful ideal," it shows that he was a communal patriot and that he desired Muslim India's freedom not only from the British, but from the Hindus as early as, if not before, 1909. Probably before. The proof lies in his desire for an Islamic renaissance in India which he expressed in his famous "Ode on Sicily," written aboard ship, and which he knew would not be possible either under Hindu or British domination. In other

words, he may not have changed his mind radically while in Europe, but he may have reflected further on this fundamental issue while away from India and may have decided that he could not alter his earlier position. Carrying the love for Islam and his Indian compatriots[128] in his genes, and having witnessed communal incidents, as he would again after his return (in fall 1908), his was a logical conclusion. The State and Islam could not be identical in a land dominated by the Hindus. It meant his agreement with Āzād that religion and politics "were twins," a theme carried by *al-Hilāl*. In expressing this thesis Āzād stimulated the *'ulamā's* interest in politics. "The participation of *ulamā* in political matters . . . made politics a much more living thing for the general masses, and Azad received powerful support from a very influential section of the community."[129] Was Āzād influenced directly by Iqbāl? Or did they both drink from a common source of interpretation going back to the nineteenth century?[130] The answer lies beyond this book. Suffice it to say that the above-mentioned thesis is derived historically from the time of Muḥammad who was at once Prophet and the nascent Islamic Community's political leader. Its political roots lie in the doctrine, developed earlier, of the Caliph as Islam's defender which has prior value to his administrative or secular duties.[131] Iqbāl in any case, like Āzād and many Muslims, insisted on the unity between religion and politics in Islam. Their viewpoint explains their political stand during the 1910's.

Some Particular Indo-Muslim Decisions Relating to Com-

128. The term "compatriot" henceforth will be used co-equivalently with that of "Muslim co-religionist".

129. Ikram, op. cit., p. 74.

130 Shiblī's viewpoint, for instance, shows that he saw religion as the Muslims' rallying call. Iqbāl also may have felt that, to make modern nationhood acceptable to the non-politically oriented Muslim majority, he had to formulate it in religious terms. However, he, no doubt, viewed religion and politics as a single domain, at least ideologically.

131. Hence the distinction between the Caliphate and the Sultanate, the latter denoting primarily a secular political form. The older Catholic notion also was that emperors, kings, barons and lower officialdom were foremost the defenders of God's Law as taught by Jesus Christ.

munalism, Svaraj, *Etc.* When the All-India Muslim League held its annual meeting at Lucknow (31 December 1912), the Aga Khan presiding, it passed a series of resolutions as follows:

"'(1) To promote and maintain among Indians feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown. . . .' "[132]

The *second, third* and *fourth* resolutions respectively expressed a desire "to protect and advance" the Indian Muslims' rights, to work for friendship between "the Mussalmans and all other communities in India," and to aim at "self-government" by constitutional means, implying through administrative reforms. The *second* resolution particularly shows a communalist bend; the *first* reflects the co-operation tradition; the *third* expresses the hope for a *modus vivendi* amongst all faith groups; the *fourth,* of course, indicates the League's agreement with Congress that *svaraj* must be India's goal, although, as the first resolution indicates, the League prefers peaceful to militant methods. These four resolutions were reiterated at its Lucknow session (22-23 March 1913), chaired by Muḥammad Shafī', as the Aga Khan had resigned (in 1913). It included Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ, who at that time still felt pro-Congress, among its invited guests.[133] He together with the League Secretary Sayyid Wazīr Ḥasan (1874-1947)[134] and a Congress Muslim named Maẓhar-ul-Ḥaq (1866-1921)[135] disagreed with the mild flavour of the League decision concerning *svaraj.* He, himself, said during the League (December 1916) Lucknow session which was held conjointly with Congress (as in 1915) on this issue that the Muslim, like the Hindu, organisation was "'ready to participate in any patriotic efforts for the advance of the country as a whole.'"[136] He not only hailed "'the

132. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 187, text and footnote "4. *Pioneer,* Jan. 2, 1913."

133. Muḥammad 'Alī probabaly felt that Jinnāḥ could assume its leadership.

134. He was President of the All-India Muslim League in 1936.

135. Another lawyer, he was President of the League during its Bombay 1915 gathering held simultaneously with that of Congress.

136. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 190, text and footnote "3. M. H. Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah : A Political Study* (1945), pp. 875-6."

Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement*' as 'the first great sign of the birth of united India,'"[137] but stated further:

"'It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that self-government is not a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time, but that self-government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time.'"[138]

The League had reached concord with the Congress,—it had been rejoined by the extremists which accepted communal electorate at this Lucknow session. A harmonious co-operation between these two political bodies continued for some years (1916-1921). Clearly, the League's "younger" leaders were more reactionary than their elders, as Mr Morison had predicated a decade ago. In the same year (1916) that the League-Congress Lucknow session was held, the Home Rule League was founded.[139] A large number of Muslims and Hindus already had identified themselves with its aim, although they did not always agree amongst each other on its interpretation. Most, if not all, Muslims and Hindus favoured Dominion Status, as is shown by the Congress-League joint request (November 1917) made to "His Majesty the King-Emperor" through the Secretary of State, Sir Edwin S. Montagu.[140] They petitioned that "'India shall be lifted from the position of dependency to that of an equal partner in the empire along with the self-governing dominions.'"[141] Sir Edwin had stated during

137. Ibid., p. 190, text and footnote 4 referring to "Saiyid, op. cit., p. 874".

138. Ibid., text and footnote 5 referring to "Sayiyid, op. cit., p. 880".

139. Mrs Annie Besant (1847-1933), an English woman, who became so deeply involved in Indian politics since her settlement in India in 1893 that she became the last of five Britishers to preside over Congress (1917). She had founded the Home Rule League to bring militants and moderates together. She also instituted the Central Hindu College (Benares, 1898) and presided (1907-1933) over the Theosophical Society (founded 1875). Gandhi succeeded her as President of the Home Rule League (until 1920), changing its name to Swaraj Sabha.

140. Previously Under-Secretary of State; he then became Secretary of State for India (1917-1922).

141. L. Fischer, op. cit., p. 60.

his (28 February 1912) speech at Cambridge : " 'We cannot drift on for ever without stating a policy.' " He continued by saying that the new generations infused with European leaning are asking : " 'What are you going to do with us ?' " [142] Again, a disagreement among British politicians surfaced : Lansdowne and Curzon accusing such liberals as Montagu and Hardinge of introducing some kind of home rule, based on decentralisation, into India.[143] These words "were taken as a pledge of imminent Dominion status." [144] They gave further impetus to Indian nationalist aspirations. Consequently, the League reaffirmed this cardinal aim at its Calcutta meeting (December 1917). Dominion Status henceforth remained one major principle of its and Congress policy.

There remained the question about Hindu-Muslim unity in a free India. Jinnāḥ pounded on it at the (1917) League's Calcutta convention, when he denounced any fears of Hindu domination as

> " 'a bogey, which is put before you by your enemies, to frighten you, to scare you away from cooperation and unity which are essential for the establishment of Self-Government'. . . . This country has not to be governed by the Hindus, and let me submit, that it has not to be governed by the Mussalmans either and certainly not by the English. It is to be governed by the people and the sons of the country. I standing here, I believe I am voicing the feeling of whole India, demand the immediate transfer of a substantial power of the Government of the country.' " [145]

Unity and *svaraj* in the sense of home rule were Jinnāḥ's demands ; he would not alter his stand on the second, but change it on the first toward the end of the 1930's. For the time being, Pakistan's future Governor-General can be considered an Indian

142. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 61 for text ; p. 62, footnote "1. *Speeches on Indian Questions by the Rt Hon Mr. Montagu* (1917), pp. 258 9."

143 Parliamentary Debates, February 1912. This argument was based on the 12 December 1911 Government of India despatch. *Vide* Mehrotta, op. cit , pp. 60 ff., p. 61 for footnote "1. Cd.5979(1911), p. 7." It was strengthened by the British Government declaration (20 August 1917) favouring self-government leading to Dominion Status.

144. Fischer, op. cit., p. 60.

145. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 191, footnotes 4 and 5 both referring to "*Indian Review*, Jan. 1918, p. 54."

Muslim. His contemporary, Dr Iqbāl, since days of his youth, was a Muslim Indian If both subscribed to *svaraj*, Jinnāḥ does not seem to have been averse to following a more radical mode of activity for gaining freedom for India, as he did not fear disunity. Iqbāl apparently favoured a moderate approach, assuring proper safeguards for his own people, because he feared communal discord. Subsequent events would prove his fear to be justifiable. He was less of an idealist than was Jinnāḥ at the time.

About half a year after Jinnāḥ had held his speech, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published.[146] In spite of Montagu's earlier proposals and the 20 August 1917 statement, the reforms were too mild. League and Congress were deeply disappointed and felt that it showed British distrust of Indian representative assemblies ; they also criticised its principle of communal representation. During the Congress and League's extraordinary Bombay sessions (31 August-1 September 1918),[147] convened to discuss the Report, the League demanded amongst other things the separate electoral system's continuation.[148] It

146. The *Report*, published on 8 July 1918, proposed the following reforms : an Indian Legislature which would include the Viceroy ; a sixty-member Council of State which would include twenty-six officials ; a 140-member Legislative Assembly of whom only one hundred were to be elected on the basis of property qualifications ; provincial legislative councils only 70% elective and to include British apart from Indian ministers ; the reservation of important matters, e g. Defence, Police, Law and Justice, to the Governor and his Executive Council. Agriculture, Health and Welfare to be transferred to Indian ministers.

147. The Hindu moderates, seeing in these Reforms an honest attempt to liberalise government according to its 20 August 1917 declaration, boycotted this extraordinary Congress meeting. They had founded in June 1918 the National Liberal League in Bengal, S.N. Banerjee presiding.

148. The League furthermore insisted on the granting of full responsibility to the central government ; fiscal autonomy ; the transfer of power of all subjects except "law and order" ; a declaration of fundamental rights ; etc. Congress added dyarchy and a more specific declaration that Indians are British citizens with all rights attached thereto ; etc For the League stand, *vide* Mehrotta, op. cit., pp. 191-92, text and p. 192, footnote "1. *Times of India*, September 2, 1918." For Congress, *vide* ibid., p. 109, text, and footnotes 4 and 5 : "4. *Report of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress Held at Bombay*, August 29-September 1, 1918, Appendix, p ii," "5. Ibid , pp. i-vi."

and Congress insisted on the principles of self-determination and provincial government during their annual sessions at New Delhi (December 1918).

The war meanwhile was over. Muslim India had been watching contemporaneously the homefront and the situation in Turkey, which had become ominous. This resulted in a League declaration, also passed in December 1918, demanding that England respect Indo-Muslim sentiment about Turkey and Islam's sacred places. This declaration expressed fear that the Caliphate's collapse " 'is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of the Mussalmans in the country' " meaning India of course, and that it might undermine Indo-Muslim loyalty to the British.[149] This resolution, which was passed in the same year that the First Khilafat Conference was organised and non-cooperation was suggested to the Muslims by Gandhi, is significant because it contains the seeds of "disloyalty". It also reveals how deeply Islamic India related its future to the Muslim world's destiny. Some Muslims even talked about *jihād* and *hijrat* or "holy war" and "migration" from India,[150] should Britain not abandon its anti-Turkish policies. The "Great Powers" remained deaf to Muslim pleas and feelings, which India's Mussalmans at least interpreted as an ill omen for their own hope for liberty.

149. Mehrotta, op. cit., pp. 192-93, footnote "1. *Indian Review*, January 1919, p 13; *Times of India*, January 2, 1919."

150. Between half a million and two million apparently trekked north to Afghanistan, but were stopped at the border by Afghan officials (C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (London : 1946, Victor Gollancz), p. 203).

6

INTERLUDE—I : 1919-1924

The Peace Conference opened on 18 January 1919 at Paris. Indians sat in it under the 1917 Imperial War Conference Resolution IX, amending that of 1907,[1] and allowing Hind's own delegates apart from the Secretary of State for India to represent their land at all Imperial Conferences. They consequently were among the signatories of the Versailles Treaty (28 June 1919), providing for a League of Nations, apart from territorial cessions by the vanquished, etc. They subscribed to the League's principal motto: no more war![2] The Treaty of San Remo (18 April 1920) accepted the main principles of the Turkish settlement; that of Sevres (20 August 1920) recognised the independence of the Hejaz Kingdom, Armenia and parts of Anatolia, the internationalisation of the Straits as well as the mandate system.[3] Sulṭān Muḥammad VI[4] gave up all claims to non-Turkish territories under the Sevres treaty, which Mustafa Kemal, alias Atatürk[5] (1880-1938) emerging as Turkey's new leader after the Ottomans'

1. R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem, Report on the Constitutional Problem* (London/New York, 1944, Oxford University Press), pp. 83, 84. Resolution IX called for a special Imperial Conference *after* the war to treat the questions pertaining to the Dominions' *and* India's share in foreign policy. Thus India became "associated with the Dominions . . . after the war." (It did not yet attain Dominion Status; British troops remained on its soil as it had no army of its own (cf ibid., p 92). The Resolution nevertheless gave Hind a "new" international status (ibid., p. 85).

2. The United States of America did not ratify this treaty.

3. It meant that the Western powers were responsible to the League of Nations for their administration in the lands which it had mandated to them. The idea was that the Europeans were to prepare their subjects for eventual self-government.

4. He succeeded for a brief spell to Muḥammad V whose deposition formally ended Ottoman rule.

5. "Father of the Turks" or "Foremost Turk," a title given him by Turkey's National Assembly (on 24 November 1934).

decline, repudiated. The old Caliphal State was fragmented, as Iqbāl had predicted; from it arose Syria and Lebanon, which now fell under the French, Iraq[6] and Palestine[7] falling under the English mandate. Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia also suffered French rule. Few of these countries would become independent before the 1905's [8] Peace was scarce in the Middle East. Anatolia's invasion by Greece (1919-1922) caused Western efforts to attain calmth.[9] The Permanent Court of International Justice was opened at The Hague (15 February 1922) to cool international tension by acting as the highest neutral arbiter in legal matters. Shortly, Mustafa Kemal formally abolished the Sultanate by proclaiming Turkey a Republic (1 November 1922) and afterwards (3 March 1924) declared the Caliphate defunct.

On the Western front, the Hapsburg Monarchy,[10] like the Ottoman Caliphate, saw its last days in the summer of 1918: the Czechs and Yugoslavs declaring their independence respectively on 21 and 29 October, the Austrian and Hungarian Republics being born respectively on 13 and 16 November, while the Slovenes, Serbs and Croats proclaimed their kingdom on 24 November of that year. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia wrought by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Nicolai Lenin (1870-January 1924), on 6 November 1917 ended its Tsarist and initiated its Communist regime.

6. These countries formed part of the Caliphate. The term "Greater Syria" or "Greater Palestine" is used to denote the Levant's former unity under Caliphal supremacy.

7. It came under Arab rule (635) when the Persians replacing the Byzantine Greeks (614) lost the Yarmūk battle. It fell under the Ottomans (in 1517) and then under the Mandate, approved by the League of Nations Council (on 24 July 1922). and ended nearly three decades later (15 May 1948). The State of Israel was proclaimed a day earlier (14 May 1948).

8. Lebanon became free on 22 November 1943; Syria, 17 April 1945; Tunisia, 22 July 1957; Algeria, 5 July 1962.

9. The First Lausanne Conference: 22 November 1922-4 February 1923; the Second Lausanne Conference: 23 April-24 July 1923.

10. Or Habsburg: a family originating in tenth-century Germany which became a dynasty (1438-1806) It later ruled North and West Hungry, while the Ottomans held C ntral Hungary; they received taxes from the Habsburgers.

Among the final political decrees affecting the Middle East during the period under discussion is the award of Mosul to Iraq made by the League of Nations Council (29 October 1924). Seven months earlier, the Caliphate had been decreed void and null by a son of Islam. If Muslim India was disturbed deeply by Ottoman reverses in the war, it was shocked by Kemal's actions. The Caliphate's defeat showed its inner weaknesses; the symbol of unity lay shredded by the Westerners; its loss of sovereignty was a humiliation for world Islam; the final insult was Kemal's assault on it.[11]

The Situation in India. Because Indian Islam closely identified the Caliphate's with their own fate, the severe reaction to its rape is not surprising. The League's formal (1918) statement read:

"'Having regard to the fact that the Indian Mussalmans take a deep interest in the fate of their co-religionists out side India and that the collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political im portance of the Mussalmans in the country and the annihilation of the military powers of Islam in the world cannot but have a far-reaching effect on the minds of even the loyal Mussalmans of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it to be its duty to place before the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the true sentiments of the Muslim community. . . .'"[12]

The lengthy resolution furthermore requested the British not to ignore Islamic law regarding the Ottoman Sulṭān's position as the Prophet's vicegerent (*khalīfah*) having supreme control over Islam's holy places "and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as delineated in the Muslim books". It advocated a "lasting concord between the Empire and Muslim states based on terms of equity and justice, in the interests alike of the British Empire and the

11. Kemal's decision later was given validity in a book by Abd-ar-Raziq : *The Caliphate* (1925) maintaining the thesis that this institution is not mentioned in the Qur'ān and that it, therefore, has no religio-juridical roots.

12. S.R. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* (New York: 1965, Fred A. Praeger), pp 192-95 for the text and p. 193, footnote "1. *Indian Review*, January 1919, p. 13; *Times of India*, January 2, 1919."

Muslim world."[13]

The Indian Mussalmans' emotions had run so high that they filled their journals with pro-Turkish articles when Great Britain entered the war against the Ottomans. Interpreting the Indo-Muslim view as anti-British, the Government of India had confiscated these publications and imprisoned their editors.[14]

By the end of 1919, all groups in India had become disenchanted. The Rowlatt Acts (21 March 1919)[15] had added another insult. These two "anti-sedition" measures, passed by the Imperial Council at New Delhi,[16] permitted the government to imprison agitators without a trial and allowed judges to try cases without juries. They revealed the key principle on which the British based themselves:[17] "'Force,'" which, wrote General Drake-Brockman of New Delhi, "'is the only thing an Asiatic has respect for.'"[18] Iqbāl agreed with the General in so far as the power motif was basic to colonialism.

India now transformed into a police-state. The Rowlatt Acts brought work stoppage, anti-British demonstrations, open revolt in the Punjab resulting in the Amritsar massacre (13 April 1919).[19] They made a farce of the 1919 Government of India Act,[20] whose Devolution Rules specifically defined the sphere of a Provincial Government presumed independent in a dyarchy. Under these Rules, the Indian Government's powers were spelled out. "Devolution was merely an expedient for working out the Reform; it was not adoption of the federal principle of distri-

13. Ibid.

14. Muḥammad 'Alī and Shaukat 'Alī were released by the end of 1919.

15. It was called after Sir Sidney Rowlatt, sitting on the King's Bench and presiding over a committee investigating "sedition" in India at the time. The Acts were passed to allow the Government of India to retain its powers in times of war.

16. India's new capital since 12 December 1911.

17. Thus they affirmed the legality of the 1818 Regulating III Act.

18. L. Fischer, op. cit., p 62, quoting from the 1920 Hunter Report.

19. General Dyer ordered his troops to shoot into an unarmed crowd, killing 379 and wounding 1200 persons.

20. Based on the 1917 Declaration and the 1918 Report.

bution of powers."[21] Although Congress regarded the (1919) Act as "'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing,'" mainly for the just cited reason, it decided to accept it "so as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government.'"[22] Congress reluctance further was caused by the Act's taking effect in the same year that the Rowlatt Acts were issued and applied. The resulting Indians' hostility towards and scepticism about governmental policies provoked Gandhi to proclaim *satyagraha*[23] or Non-Co-operation and Passive Resistance and Muḥammad 'Alī to organise the Khilafat Committee.[24] They portray an exasperated India.

Islamic India's mood can be gauged further from a letter which its leaders sent to the Viceroy, in which they condemned the peace terms and insisted on self-government for the entire country.[25] Freedom was the call made by Jinnāḥ as President of the All-India Muslim League during its special meeting (Calcutta, 7 September 1920):

> "'One thing there is which is indisputable and that is that this Government must go and give place to a complete responsible Government. . . . One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment, and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. . . . May it lead India to freedom.'"[26]

It was then that he agreed to "non-violent" Non-Co-operation, whose first campaign was launched the day after he gave this speech, and that the Muslim League also supported Gandhi's

21. S.C. Dash, *The Constitution of India* (Allahabad: 1960, Chaitanya Publishing House), p. 23. Italics ours.

22. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 110. text and footnote "4 *Report of the Thirty-fourth Indian National Congress*, 1919, Appendix A, p. 176."

23. *Sattya* or "truth," "righteousness"; root *grah*: "to receive," "to seize"; *satyagraha* then really means: to seize that belonging rightfully to. . . .

24. Its real organiser was Muḥammad 'Alī.

25. Cf. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 149, footnote "1. For the text of the letter see *Times of India*, June 25, 1920."

26. Ibid., p. 195, text and footnotes 5 and 6 referring to "*Englishman*, Sept. 8, 1920."

programme,[27] which included Passive Resistance and *svaraj*. The League reiterated that *svaraj*, Hindu-Muslim unity, the protection and advance of India's Muslims—tenets laid down by it in 1912—as well as good international relations were its immediate goals. The freedom debate further resulted in the Nagpur Resolution passed by Congress (on 28 December 1920) by which it reaffirmed its commitment to freedom "'within the British Commonwealth.'"[28] It stood in opposition to those demanding a resolution in favour of making India "a republic".[29]

Between 1921 and 1924, India's liberals were jolted by the appointment of a less liberal Viceroy, Lord Reading (1921-1926),[30] and Montagu's resignation (1922) as Secretary of State; Congress was shocked by another split; India, by communalism.[31] Montagu's resignation led to a walk-out by most liberals from the provincial ministries, because they felt that dyarchy had become impossible. The new Secretary of State, Lord Peel (1867-1937),[32] confirmed the Government of India view that Dominion Status was unrealisable, thus repeating the old British doctrine of empire, and rejecting the implications of the 1917 Resolution. Congress in turn rejected the new Indian Parliament, inaugurated in New Delhi (February 1921), as unrepresentative. The National

27. At the (first) 23 November *1919* Khilafat Conference, the idea tentatively was accepted; the Conference embraced Non-Co-operation at its 1 August *1920* session. Congress endorsed it formally during its special session held at Calcutta (September 1910). *Vide* Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 114.

28. Mehrotta, op. cit, p. 115, text and footnote 6 referring to "*Times of India*, December 29, 1920." On this issue, Gandhi and Nehru stood apart, Nehru favouring complete independence.

29. India became a Rupublic in 1950.

30. He would be replaced by Lord Irwin in 1926. His real name was Rufus Daniel Isaacs, first Marquis of Reading (1860-1935), who had been Lord Chief Justice of England (1913-1921) and Ambassador to Washington, D.C. (1918-1919) before assuming this post.

31. The Mahasabha founded in 1919 (by C.R. Das and M. Nehru) was fiercely anti-Muslim, reflecting Tilak's and Dayananda's ideology. It capitalised on the Moplah revolt. (C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* [London: 1946, Victor Gollancz]. p 172).

32. Wm. Robert Wellesley, first Earl and second Viscount of Peel. He held this post for two years (19.2-1924). Frederick Edwin Smith, first Earl of Birkenhood (1872-1930), succeeded him (1924-1928).

Liberation Federation, founded by Hindu moderates (1918), resolved at its (December 1922) annual meeting, presided over by Sastri, that the time-table for "responsible self-government" be sped up; the "radical" Congress insisted that India become free and have the right to secede from the Empire. These demands reflected continued haggling with the British Government of India about Bharat's constitutional status. Although most liberal organisations in Hind's provinces accepted Dominion Status by the middle of 1923, some Muslim, as had a few Hindu, leaders had begun to reject it. The key-note showing a change in the Muslims' attitude is found in a resolution moved by the journalist-politician Ḥasrat Mohānī, Muslim League's President in 1921, before the (December 1921) Congress Ahmedabad session, when he proposed "'complete independence free from foreign control'. . . . *Swaraj* can have only one meaning and that is complete independence'."[33] Not only did the Congress majority defeat S. Mohānī's resolution, but Gandhi took him to task for "'throwing a bomb-shell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere'."[34] Most League members concurred with Congress; Jinnāḥ was one exception, as was J. Nehru on the Hindu side who was kept in tow—as was Congress—by Gandhi. Very soon, the Mahatma called off the Passive Resistance Movement (February 1922),[35] which stunned Hindus and Muslims. Communalism had not died in spite of Congress-League co-operation, to which the Moplah revolt in Malabar and the Akalis' rebellion in the Punjab testified.[36] Sayyid Mohānī took note of it by pointing out (in 1921)[37] that the two communities remained suspicious of each other and that the Muslims had not shed their fear that they

33. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 123, text and footnote "2. *Report of the Thirty-sixth Indian National Congress*, 1921, p. 50."

34. Ibid., p. 123, text and footnote 6 referring to the *Thirty-sixth Congress Report*, p. 57. For Gandhi's 23 November 1920 statement, *vide* ibid., p. 121.

35. He was arrested in March 1922.

36. The Moplahs (Mapillas) on South India's Malabar coast, as the Akalis, were poor Muslim peasants who were anti-Hindu and anti-British. Their revolt was a protest against their exploitation. It was not their first uprising.

37. Before the 21 December 1921 League session at Ahmedabad.

would be crushed under Hindu-majority rule. Acknowledging the Hindus as being numerically larger than the Muslims, he pointed to the latter's predominance in such provinces as the Punjab, Bengal, Sind, Assam and Kashmir. He not only demanded (1 January 1922) a clearer definition of *svaraj*, a declaration that India become a Republic, having a "parallel government,"[38] but that the Muslims' wish be fulfilled in outlining the structure that the newly elected government of a free India would take. Preferring a federated India "similar to that of the United States,'" he said: "'In the United States of India, the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Mussalmans.'"[39] The real meaning of Mohānī's speech was lost neither on his co-religionists nor on the Hindus. One of their Punjabi politicians, Lajpat Rai (1865-1928),[40] concluded from it in the year that it was given that it implied Ḥasrat Mohānī's denunciation of Dominion Status. Lajpat Rai concluded from it furthermore that India's Muslims aim at

> "'separate Muslim States in India united with Hindu States under a National Federal Government. He is also in favour of smaller States containing compact Hindu and Muslim populations. . . . But it should be clearly understood that this is not united India. *It means a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India.*'"[41]

This communalist formula, which Iqbāl would reiterate in 1930, continued an old[42] line of thinking also expressed in Sir Sayyid's

38. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 196, text—his words are in quote—and footnote 4 referring to "*The Indian Annual Register*, 1922, vol. i, Appendices, pp. 68-77."

39. Ibid., p. 198, text and footnote "1. *The Indian Annual Register*, 1922, vol. i, Appendices, pp 71-72."

40. Lawyer, author, President of Congress's special Calcutta (1920) session. He rejected absolute independence implying severance with the British.

41. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 198, footnote for text and its source: "Saiyid, op. cit., pp. 29-30."

42. *Vide* Syed Abdul Vahid, *Studies in Iqbāl* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 300-01, stating (on p. 300) that the English politician John Bright (1811-1889) had suggested in his speech before the

two-nation theory and by Nawāb Viqār-ul-Mulk in early 1907, when he had flatly stated that, should the British leave India, " 'Hindus will lord over it'."[43] Mohānī's speech was based on reality; Lajpat Rai's analysis was solid. The ultimate political solution lay along communalist lines. Jinnāḥ, Pakistan's future Governor-General, could or would not see it as yet, although he stood with Mohānī on the issue of complete independence. Iqbāl agreed with Mohānī's communalist orientation and Lajpat Rai's analysis, but did not disfavour Dominion Status, whereby he dissented with Mohānī and Jinnāḥ. He had made up his mind long ago that Muslim India must become free and, watching the situation in his country, concluded that its inhabitants cannot count on anyone to help them. He said on this point:

> " 'Indian Muslims, who happen to be a more numerous people than the Muslims of all other Asiatic countries put together, ought to consider themselves the greatest asset of Islam and should sink in their own deeper self like other Muslim nations of Asia, in order to gather up their scattered sources of life and according to Sir Fazl's advice stand on their own legs.' "[44]

When Khilāfatism had become the cry, Iqbāl supported it briefly by serving as a Khilafat Committee member (early 1920). The 'Alī brothers had been preparing the Khilafat Manifesto (published in January 1920) and Muḥammad 'Alī headed a deputation to Europe to present their cause, but their misson failed (October 1920).[45] Hindus had joined Muslims because they also considered the demand that the Europeans respect other people's faiths and cultures and grant them freedom legitimate. Iqbāl carried along by the tide not only wrote a poem welcoming the 'Alī brothers on

House of Commons (on 24 June 1885) five independent presidencies in India, while W.S. Blunt advised (December 1883) a Muslim North and a Hindu South.

43. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 181, text and footnote "3. Cited in Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History* (1959), pp. 101-2."

44. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 180-81; p. 181, footnote "1. *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 188."

45. For details, *vide* Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (London: 1946, Victor Gollancz), pp. 199 ff; L. S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* (Lahore: 1970, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 201 ff.

their release from prison ; he also praised Gandhi in some other compositions.[46] Why then did he resign so soon from the Committee, thus withdrawing his support from the movement ? Did he feel that the Khilāfat leaders gave too little attention to the problems at home ? Or did he believe that Khilāfatism was doomed and that Hindu support for it was artificial ? He explained the reason for his resignation in a letter (dated 11 February 1920) as follows :

"'I have heard that he [Moulvi Girami] is angry with me because I have resigned from the Khilafat Committee. When he comes to Lahore I will acquaint him with the actual facts. The way this Committee was started, and the object some of its members had in view, the existence of this Committee was in my opinion dangerous for the Muslims.'"[47]

Why did he regard this Committee's existence "dangerous" for India's Muslims ? For at least five reasons : (1) imprisonment of their pro-Turkish leaders whom the Government of India considered rebellious ; (2) consequently, lack of leadership so necessary for their protection ; (3) the fact that India never had belonged to the Caliphate so that, politically at least, Khilāfatism was an artificial movement ; (4) his feeling that opposition to the British was not to the Indo-Muslim community's best advantage, wherein he stood in the Aligarh tradition ; (5) the resultant emotionalism which would hurt, not benefit, Mussalman, Hindu, Sikh, and all other proups. A sixth would be his deeply felt fear of Hindu-Muslim unity and his attachment to Islamic India which was his—and the Khilāfatists'—land of birth and which took precedence. It is not a contradiction to his preaching the *Millat*, because his starting point was his Bible, which teaches it. In him, universalism and nationalism mingled, but he insisted—and here he is more nationalist than universalist—that Indian Islam precedes in importance for those born in its bosom. Perhaps, his resignation had still another cause, namely, his conviction that Muslim India's leaders, themselves subjects of a foreign nation, would be

46. Ikram, op. cit., p. 178, text and footnote "1. Omitted from *Bang-i-Dara*, but may be read in *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* published at Hyderabad."

47. Vahid, op. cit., p. 268, text and footnote "1. *Makatib-i-Iqbal*, p. 27."

powerless to aid their brethren abroad. He was right, of course. In a later letter (dated 3 December 1920), he stated why he did not sympathise with the Non-Co-operation Movement:

" 'Even if non-cooperation is considered a religious duty, the method adopted for carrying it out is in my opinion against the spirit of Islamic *shariat*.' "[48]

Why did Iqbāl consider the Non-Co-operation Movement's method "against the spirit of Islamic" law and tradition? Again, many answers can be given to this question. *First*, it was Hindu-led, an anomaly from a Muslim viewpoint—hence, it ran counter to the *Sharī'ah*. *Second* the absence of a *fatwā* or "decree" by India's theologians on which he himself wrote: " 'Whatever my personal opinion, if the *fatwa* of the *ulema* is against it I will submit to it.' "[49] He interpreted the non-issuance of such a decision as a silent consensus against this Movement. *Third*, the Hindu-Muslim unity that it fostered was aimed at opposing the British, not at overcoming the communalism schism. *Fourth*, as a corollary of the third point, the Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* during the 1910's and early 1920's was a veneer, as the top Hindu-Muslim leadership and the lower classes could not overcome the deep schism. The 1921 uprisings,[50] the Hindu attempts to squash the Muslims were possible during the 1920's and the subsequent squabbles between their major representatives[51] proved Dr Iqbāl to be correct. *Fifth*, anti-British manifestations would hurt the Muslims more than the Hindus as the latter found more favour than the former in officialdom's eyes. *Sixth*, a number of leading Hindus and Muslims—as did Iqbāl—continued to nourish pro-British sentiments, derived from their birth in "British India" and their education partly was English in nature. *Seventh*, he realised that the Movement was trying to capitalise on Muslim support of Hindu leadership. *Eighth*, a point also

48. Ibid., p. 268; text and footnote 3, referring to *Makatib-i-Iqbal*, p. 36.

49. Ibid., p. 268; text and footnote 2 referring to *Makatib-i-Iqbal* p. 35.

50. Although the peasant uprisings had economic causes, they also manifested communalist feelings.

51. The Hindu and Muslim leaders quarrelled in 1924 about separate *versus* joint electorates and other political issues.

made regarding Khilātatism, he feared for greater violence as a result of Non-Co-operation in spite of Gandhi's statement: "'If India takes to the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory, but then India will cease to be the pride of my heart.'"[52] Iqbāl's fear was not in vain.[53] *Ninth*, Iqbāl was not blind to the strength of British authority in India, exercised by jailing of "ten thousand Indians" in December 1921 and January 1922,[54] Gandhi's own arrest (10 March 1922) and a decreed six-year prison term.[55] *Tenth*, Iqbāl was convinced that, because of it and the artificiality of Co-operation,[56] this Movement was bound to fail. His conviction was borne out by Gandhi's cancelling it a month before the Mahatma was arrested. Although the Hindu leader had advocated that it be non-violent, the opposite was true. Did he, himself, fear for a conflagration in India, causing him to cancel Non-Co-operation? Or was it his realisation that a part of the Indo-Muslim intelligentsia did not fully support him as its prime spokesman and leader? The excuse which he gave was: "I should be deeply pained . . . if the people did so much as abuse the government for my sake or in my name. It would be disgracing me if the people lost their equilibrium on my arrest.'"[57] Gandhi insisted on non-co-operation which involved mass support and that communalism could be overcome.[58] Jinnāḥ and Nehru agreed with him. Mohānī, Iqbāl, did not, because of its deep religious roots, its politicisation, and its consequent polarisation. If the last two mentioned men

52. Fischer, op. cit., p. 69.

53. Constables fired into "a legal procession" in Chauri Chaura, U.P. (8 February 1922).

54. Fischer, op. cit., p. 70.

55. He was operated on for an acute appendicitis on 12 January 1924, was released on 5 February, because of failing health, and later that year began a twenty-one day "Hindu-Muslim fast" in Muḥammad 'Alī's house (ibid., pp. 76-77). Iqbāl must have looked askance at Gandhi's fast in a Muslim home, which symbolised, of course, the unity theme.

56. As of Khilāfatism.

57. Cf. his article "If I Am Arrested" in *Young India*, 9 March 1922. The next day, he was arrested. He would be rearrested later.

58. Cf. Gandhi's 6000-word article on "Hindu-Moslem Tension. Its Cause and Cure." It was published in *Young India*, 29 May 1924.

agreed with the Mahatma at all, it was on his statement that: "'The Fight that was commenced in 1920 is a fight to the finish. . . .'"[59] For Iqbāl, the sword was double-edged: it was to be wielded not only in India's, *but also in Muslim India's, defence.* Continued efforts to convert Muslims to Hinduism in the 1920's, accompanied by hinduisation of Islamic cultural institutions, including the University of the Panjab, the decadence of the Punjabi Muslims, Hindu-Muslim riots in other parts of India, the general deterioration throughout the land between 1922 and 1924, in which the Muslims who were beginning to catch up suffered most, as their condition in the Punjab clearly showed, strengthened Iqbāl's conviction.

"'The public offices and Government institutions had become inaccessible like the caste guilds, in which it was extremely difficult for a Muslim to obtain entry, and even if he somehow managed to gain admission, he would find that the dice was heavily loaded against him. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, a skilful and determined administrator, tried to break this monopoly so far as his departments were concerned . . . His policy created a flutter amongst the vested interests, which the present generation cannot even imagine. The so-called nationalist paper, the *Tribune*, was then, as ever, wedded to a policy of resolutely (nay, blindly) opposing anything and everything, which might benefit the Muslims. Its columns were reserved for years for a condemnation of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's policy. The public platform and the provincial council echoed the Hindu resentment at any attempt to make them share their exclusive preserves with any other section of the population.'"[60]

If this situation—aggravated by their lack of commerce and politics' domination by Hindu lawyers—existed in a province with a Muslim majority, one can imagine the conditions in those which had a Muslim minority. It was "no blissful state of affairs"[61] for India's Mussalman. Iqbāl, Mohānī, Jinnāḥ, Nehru, Gandhi, Sastri, and all statesmen, educators, lawyers, politicians, knew it. Non-Co-operation did not efface it, as also was clear from the (19-2) Sangathan or "Consolidation" Movement started by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya aiming at converting Muslims

59. Written on 23 February 1922.

60. Ikram, op. cit., p. 179. 61. Ibid.

to Hinduism.[62] They saw that too and, in effect, some among them staged (in 1924) a counter attempt, known as *Tanẓīm,* to prevent such conversions and, if possible, to enlarge the *Millat.* Many among the intelligentsia nevertheless wished to close their eyes to it; not Iqbāl, not Mohānī, and a few others. They fully subscribed to Muḥammad 'Alī's statement (December 1928) "that there is no Government but the Government of God."[63]

Hitherto Iqbāl's only direct political activity was his brief Khilafat Committee membership. Why was he not more involved? His writing absorbed many hours; he lectured part-time at his old Alma Mater; he met with many leaders—which is some kind of involvement—so that he learned of their views firsthand; he read voluminously on all topics: history, politics, covering books, articles, press reports, speeches on current and past events in India and other lands, as well as philosophy. He wrote for instance (in 1924): "'I am carrying out certain researches into the work of Muslim scholars on Inductive Logic, and all the advances they were able to make on the work of Greek logicians.'"[64] Why was he so concerned at this moment with Inductive Logic? Could it be that he was trying to unravel the inner reasoning causing the Westerner's (external) conduct—whether there was, in other words, any rime or reason to it? The other element in this statement is his personal assurance, which he indefatigably conveyed to others, that the Muslim scholars' endeavours in all domains were superior to those of the Europeans—a view he had carried with him to England. It was another way to perk up his compatriots,[65] many of whom frequently were languishing in jail. The

62. Associated with the Sangathan or Shangtan movement was that known as Shuddhi or "reclamation," trying to reconvert Muslims, who once were Hindus, to Hinduism.

63. He asserted it also in his trial (26 October 1921—he was arrested anew on 14 September 1921) The charge was the same: "sedition". He was in prison for two years. (For his own defence, *vide* May, op. cit., Appendix K.)

64. Vahid, op. cit., p. 237, text and footnote 3 referring to *Iqbāl Nāmah,* Vol. I, pp. 75-200. The letter is dated 1 February 1924.

65. Used in the sense of "co-religionists". The same can be said of a number of Hindu leaders.

British thought that this was the best and only way to silence the freedom voices. They were wrong, for another party aiming toward this goal was founded amidst the use of these depressive tactics: the Congress-Khilafat Svaraj Party, launched by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das (1 January 1923).[66] Iqbāl undoubtedly rejected it, not because it stood for *svaraj*, but for its Hindu leadership, his rejection of Khilāfatism and his feeling that unity was unattainable. He had been meanwhile composing his third Persian masterpiece: the *Payām-i-Mashriq*.[67] It was not his only poem after his *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, which was followed by shorter pieces and two lengthy poems entitled "The Rise of Islam" (*Ṭulū'-i-Islām*) and "The Guide of the Way" (*Khiḍr-i-Rāh*).[68] They deal with familiar subjects, exhorting the Muslims to follow in their ancestors' footsteps, to adhere to Muḥammad's dicta, and not to imitate Western secularism. One new theme emerges, viz. that the reforms will not remove the real problems, but only aim at appeasing India He is clearly anti-Government in advancing such a political viewpoint. He also continued[69] to write in an anti-Briṭish vein on the cultural developments in Islam *versus* the West; yet he favoured co-operation with the authorities from whom he accepted the honour of knighthood (in 1922). "The surprising thing, however, was not that Iqbal was given the title, but that he accepted it—and that in 1922." Not only had he criticised others who had accepted knighthood, but he had criticised the Muslim deputation to argue the Muslim cause in London. The reason? His feeling that they should concentrate on the affairs at home and his certainty that the mission would fail. "But now, when a temptation came his way, he found it impos-

66. Its programme was published in February 1923 and reiterated on 14 October 1923. (See Mehrotta, op cit., pp. 126 ff. for details.)

67. Published in 1923, it took Iqbāl three years to write this major work; tr. by A.J. Arberry under the title *The Tulip of Sinai*, which, in fact, is a poetic rendering of *Lālah-i-Ṭūr*, published by the Royal India Society, London, 1947.

68. They were published soon after the First World War.

69. "Continued" because he criticised the West in poems written while he was in Europe. Cf. again the topics of his lectures while in England.

sible to resist it."[70] His humanity shines through his insistence that, upon receiving knighthood, his old teacher and friend. Maulvī Mīr Ḥasan, should be given the then newly created title: Shams-ul-'Ulamā', to honour his achievements in Urdu literature. Is Iqbāl's and other Muslims' (and Hindus') acceptance of knighthood a contradiction in their character as exposed by their behaviour pattern? The answer is a firm "No" for the reasons given: to reiterate, (1) he and likeminded men considered the British Government as holding some balance between the Muslims and Hindus; (2) apart from this political consideration is the cultural tie many Indians felt with England in spite of their respective faiths and traditions; (3) it was the reason for Iqbāl's stressing loyalty to Islam because in India as in the Middle East Western secularising trends had become stronger in education, administration, etc.; (4) the acceptance of the title "Sir" meant not only British recognition of individual Muslims—and Hindus—for the contributions which they had made, but such an official distinction also was a psychological booster to their fellowmen. Iqbāl and many, following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers, acted as critics of Government, increasingly rejecting its policies as having no genuine purpose, were also anti-British on religio-cultural grounds, but coul l not easily cut the ties with England which in some ways had nurtured them since their birth.[71] "The Rise of Islam" and "The Guide of the Way" were well received. His major work of these years, however, was the *Payām-i-Mashriq*, whose dedication to Afghanistan's former king Amānullah[72] (b. 1892), a freedom-fighter, further reveals its

70. Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, An Introduction to The Life and Works of Muhammad Iqbal (Bombay : 1951, Orient Longmans, Ltd.), p. 108, for the two quotations.

71. The English language and literature, which had been introduced by Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), English historian and writer, lawyer, member of Parliament (since 1830), and president of the Committee on Public Instruction (1834-1838). He favoured the anglicist *versus* the orientalist viewpoint. His famous "Minute on Education" (1834) is found in his *Prose and Poetry*, Selections, Harvard University Press, 1952.

72. Amīr Amānullah (r. 1919, king 1926-1929) declared the Third Afghan War, also known as the War of Independence, against the British

author's anti-Britishness. This work follows Goethe's (1749-1832) *West-Oestlicher Divan*, for its cover states: "In Response to the *Divan* of the German Poet". The cover also says: "To God belong East and West," expressing his profound agreement with the famed German poet on the spirituality of the universe and of life. Of him, as of the renowned Indo-Muslim poet, Ghālib, he said:

"'Both gave a message of life to the dying.

* * *

Both are pearls of great price and lustre,
Born of the shoreless sea.'"[73]

Their poetic beauty, like the lyricism in those verses painting tulips, roses, the sunset, the Indian landscape, reveal Iqbāl's love for Nature. The first verse is autobiographical, showing the reason for his admiration and his continued longing to revive the Indian Mussalmans' hope; the second pursues the theme that, like pearls valued for their beauty, Goethe and Ghālib are priceless poets. The simile of "the shoreless sea" gives a clue to Iqbāl's idea of life: he regarded it as an eternal ocean of Time from which the myriad selves spring and into which they fold as do the countless waves into that vast body of water.

That Iqbāl had become acquainted with Goethe during his college years in India is shown by one of his early Urdu poems found in the *Bāng-i-Darā* (1901). Although its subject is the poet Ghālib, who is "sleeping in the ruined city of Delhi," it also refers to Goethe in the following words: "'Your fellow bard is resting in the garden of Weimar.'"[74] Its author, like the German

(on 6 May 1919, lasting one month) and thus was regarded as a fighter in defence of freedom against the usurping "unbelievers". He also was a reformer, putting through a new constitution (later repealed by his successor). During his reign, a treaty was signed (November 1921) whereby the British recognised Afghanistan as a sovereign State.

73. *Payām-i-Mashriq*, henceforth also written as *Payām or PM*, p. 2, as cited by Vahid, op. cit , p. 53, whose quotations are used.

74. Vahid, op. cit., p. 52—*Bāng-i-Darā*, p. 10. The *Bāng-i-Darā* (*BD*) was an Urdu collection published in 1924. Ghālib (1797-1869) is famed as one of the greatest poets of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

poet, was equally fascinated with the medieval Faustian theme. It is: an alchemist named Dr Faustus sells his soul to Mephistopheles (Satan or Iblīs) in exchange for being taught upon the doctor's[75] request the secret of how to convert metal into gold. It was an impossible quest for riches. The result was that Faust attained neither wealth nor paradise, his soul belonging to the Devil. The predominant theme is a hero's downfall, caused by his blind and selfish ambitions.[76] However, Goethe was concerned with the much larger problems of the struggle between good and evil in creation, of man alienated from his Creator, of reconciliation between him and God in spite of his sins. Goethe placed Mephistopheles among God's own, echoing the medieval Catholic theological doctrine that the Devil finally became "hooked" by Divinity and, belonging to the created, has no real (or "ontological") status. The implication is that evil is not an essential part of creation, although it appears to be, and that dualism is to be rejected. Goethe, himself, declared that good and evil are opposites whose interaction within the human spurs him on to betterment improving his chances for salvation. No wonder that Iqbāl felt so attracted to "the Western sage" whom he put in Heaven. He recaptures the theme of good and evil:

> "'I asked a sage: 'What is life?'
> He replied: 'Wine whose bitterest is the best.'
> I said: 'They have put evil in its raw nature.'
> He answered: 'Its good is in this very evil.'' "[77]

The message is that good remains unrecognised in the absence of evil and that it is necessary to know what is good in order to fight evil:

75. The tale centres on a historical person, a Dr Johann Faust (Faustus is his latinised name), an astrologer and a magician (d. 1538), who became the ideal of those men fathoming this world's knowledge without Divine aid. He first appeared as the tragic hero in a book by Johann Spies (1587) which was translated into many languages, including English.

76. This theme also engrossed the greatest English playwright before Shakespeare, viz. Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593), who wrote *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (*circa* 1502).

77. *PM*, p. 145; Vahid, op. cit., p. 65. Cf. Qur'ān, xxxviii. 71-85, on Iblīs.

"'Do not live in a world so ill-designed
That it has a God but no Satan.'"[78]

Is it not tempting to read into these lines the notion that the Mussalman might have remained inert if he had not been forced to meet the challenges of the time? In other words, Iblīs here symbolises the Englishmen created by God for the purpose of challenging the Muslims. Such an interpretation connects with another theme reiterated and stressed in the *Payām*, namely, that life is a struggle, wherein lies its good which one cannot taste without knowing struggle; it is bought dearly, therefore; and the struggle also means that man must strive ceaselessly toward progress. The Devil says:

"'I kept myself so busy with works
That I never have the leisure of a holiday.'"[79]

In another section, Iblīs exhorts:

"'Take to action, step out, and attain success.'"[80]

This curt exhortation contains greater optimism than Faust had.[81] Iqbāl at least reassures his readers that they have a future, for success is the reward of action:

"'Image of clay! Behold the reward of ceaseless toil.'"[82]

The earlier quoted line:

"'Both gave a message of life to the dying'"

also conveys this reassurance. Apart from what has been said about it, this verse reveals his sadness at the time he wrote it and the *Payām*, as echoed in the word "dying". However, it expresses his feeling that all has not been lost, because he did not employ the term "dead". As long as a person has not died, there is after all hope for his recovery. This is the significant meaning of the last-cited line, which furthermore illumines Iqbāl's reason for writing the work in which it is found: to restore the Muslims' self-confidence that they can meet the challenge successfully, to

78. *PM*, p. 154; Vahid, op. cit., p. 71.
79. *PM*, p. 158; Vahid, op. cit., p. 67.
80. *PM*. p. 98; Vahid, op. cit, p. 69.
81. The hero redeems himself in the second part by building public works on a vast scale.
82. Vahid, op. cit., p. 81.

encourage them to enter the freedom struggle, and to engender their desire for and hope in a better future:

> "'I come from the tavern intoxicated without a sip from the cup,
> In the station of negation I was intoxicated with affirmation.'"[83]

In a charming section, known as "The Arab Cameleer's Melody" (*Hudī*), the cameleer gently coaches his "fleet-footed dromedary":

> "'Step forth a little faster, our destination is not far.'"

He praises the beast's beauty:

> "'Thou art a proud beauty!
> Thou art a rival of the houri!
> Thou art the envy of Laila!'"

and he closes with the refrain:

> "'Step forth a little faster, our destination is not far.'"[84]

Vahid's comment is apt: "The camel's journey is symbolic of man's life."[85] To it must be added that (1) Iqbāl referred specifically to the Muslims, praising the men for their pride in their religion and their culture, and their proud womenfolk for their charms and graces; (2) the refrain does not only refer to the humans' life-journey, but to a particular moment in Indo-Muslim history. It says that the hour is late (1923); they must hurry if they wish to reach their not distant goal. The use of the personal pronoun "our" in the refrain again shows his deep feeling of identity with the Indian Musalmans' fate. Its beauty lies in its simple analogy to the cameleer's desire to reach an oasis before darkness covers the desert. He may love his beast blindly, but others may not unless it has proven its worth to them. So,

> "'One can never tame the world till one
> Has let it practise its charms on one.
> Beauty's pride cannot be disarmed
> Till Love submit to it in its might.'"[86]

83. *PM*, p. 30; Vahid, op cit., p. 98.

84. *PM*, pp. 125-26; Vahid, op. cit., p. 13.

85. Vahid, op. cit., p. 13.

86. *PM*, p. 101; tr. by M. Hadi Hussain as cited by Vahid, op. cit., p. 26.

The second couplet differs in meaning from the first by saying that pride alone does not suffice for it will not conquer the world; love softens and enhances pride; consequently, the self, priding itself on beauty *and* love, has the strength to pursue its tasks: taming of the world by loving it passionately and overcoming those in charge. The reference obviously is to the freedom struggle. The charm of these verses derives not only from their simplicity, but from the simile of a loving couple locked in embrace in the second stanza in analogy to the cameleer who loves his dromedary, and the gentle tone of the first stanza which is analogous to the dromedary's having to prove itself to other cameleers. The word "Love," capitalised, has a triple meaning: the stated feelings between man and wife or sweetheart and swain; love for life, lacking at the time amongst the many, because it meant turning away from Qur'ānic study and concentrated thought on Allah, which Iqbāl felt was overdone and which he saw as an escape from their sad plight and their obligations to turn to action; love for God which must engender love for life, the world, created by Him, so that neglect of their secular duties by keeping their nose in the Bible and other books meant lack of love for the Creator (from Iqbāl's viewpoint).[87] The importance of love, stressed in all his works, springs forth from such verses as:

"'Intellect is from the Devil and Love from Adam.'"[88]

The main observation on this line is love, which is basic to life, cannot be replaced by mental activities ignoring its importance and blinding man to his actual needs. Awakening to them, becoming impassioned about them, and burning with the desire to do something about them, that is the deep meaning of love for Allah, Muḥammad, mankind and oneself. That leads to salvation:

"'What is immortal life? Burning incessantly.'"[89]

Even the Devil, who has such a low opinion about human

87. He felt that their religious concentration has not given them the life-spark.

88. *PM*, p. 246; Vahid, op. cit., p. 54; cf. his *Jāvid Nāmah*, p. 71 (Vahid, op. cit., p. 206) where he states "When Love joins forces with Intellect, It ushers in the world a new order."

89. *PM*, p. 99; Vahid, op. cit., p. 203.

beings, will have respect for them:

"'And Ahriman, the fire-born God,
Prostrates himself before moral dust.'"[90]

Although "mortal dust" is contrasted with the "fire-born" Ahriman, the real comparison is between man's littleness and his greatness, or even evil and good, viz. passive and active, natures.[91] Innumerable verses in the *Payām-i-Mashriq* stress activity:

"'What am I to do? I cannot get reconciled to a place,
Like the breeze in a tulip field I have a restless heart.'"[92]

"'The lover's heart loses its zest in eternal Paradise,
Here no song of affliction, no grief, and no
sympathiser.'"[93]

Both are autobiographical; the first couplet seems to say that its author longs to see some more action to get the necessary aim accomplished; the second, that he is filled with grief about the conditions in Islamic India. Each carries through a theme found in other sections of the *Payām*. Action expresses the desire for change through which man manifests his ability to determine his own destiny:

"'I want to see my destiny unmasked.'"[94]

This strong verse, again autobiographical, links with Iqbāl's expressed restlessness about India's political uncertainties. He is tired of the game and wants to know its future course. The most magnificent verse in the whole *Payām-i-Mashriq*, and possibly in all of his works, is that pleading:

"'O manly courage, go and capture God.'"[95]

It is a climactic verse brilliant in its conception that "mortal dust" should attempt to catch Deity, meaning that man must be motivated by courage and love to attain Divine heights. The "capture" of Deity is impossible; to reach upward is within man's ability. This verse is not to be taken as irreverent, there-

90. *PM*, p. 101; Vahid, op. cit., p. 26; tr. by M. Hadi Mussain.

91. No dualism is intended, because Iqbāl was certain that the evil can be overcome by the good nature, as Iblīs was overcome by God.

92. *PM*, p. 147; Vahid, op. cit., p. 10.

93. *PM*, p. 149; Vahid, op. cit., p. 10.

94. *PM*, p. 186; Vahid, op. cit., p. 99.

95. *PM*, p. 198; Vahid, op. cit., p. 100.

fore; it bespeaks Iqbāl's certainty that his people must and can change their prison term for freedom which, in the 1910's and 1920's, was an impossibility. The *Payām-i-Mashriq* is lyrical, draws many vegnettes from Nature, and, apart from its author's agreement with Rūmī that activity is essential, borrows some of his symbolisms, e g. the wine, the cup, intoxication. In the thought of the abstinent Iqbāl, it means life-drunkenness:

> " 'What sweet delight, dear Lord, to live, to be?
> Each atom's heart pulses with radiant glee,
> The rosebud, bursting through the rose's stem,
> Glows with the smile of living ecstasy.' "[96]

Philosophically, this work may be regarded as a presentation of human evolution toward " 'an ideal race of unique individuals' ".[97] The stage described in it, viz. the active, falls within the first of the three in Iqbāl's view.[98] Its political nature cannot be ignored. Why did he write it in Persian? One reason was his admiration for Rūmī, which also explains why he chose the metre used by the Persian poet in his *Mathnavī*.[99] Another was his hope that it would have as wide an appeal as Rūmī's poetry had, facilitated by using a language not associated exclusively[100] with Islamic India. Last, but not least, it was written in Persian, to form a trilogy with the two preceding compositions: the *Asrār-i-Khudī*, attempting to induce a psychological change in the Muslim individual, and the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, constituting a call to all Muslims to join together in the struggle for their political redemption. The *Payām-i-Mashriq* preaches action. Although they have many ideas in common, such as love, brotherhood, spirituality, each has its particular reason for being and

96. *PM*, p. 21 ; Vahid, op. cit., p. 191.

97. Vahid, op. cit., p. 127.

98. The second and third stages respectively are those of self-control and Divine Vicegerency. (*Vide* Vahid, op. cit., p. 126.) Iqbāl may have been influenced by F. Hegel's (1770-1831) Dialectical Idealism, applying this German philosopher's doctrine of thesis, antithesis, synthesis in his own way.

99. Vahid, op. cit., p. 97.

100. Urdu is Islamic India's (Pakistan's) language, but Bengal's and Punjab's Muslims, for instance, speak Bengali, Punjabi. He wanted to reach them. Furthermore, Urdu contains a number of Persian and Hindi words.

its own orientation. The trilogy, however, has one overarching motif, which is : The Muslims' resurrection. The *Payām-i-Mashriq* was not well received at first, because a smaller number than formerly among the Indo-Muslim intelligentsia knew Persian.[101] The consensus also was that it was too philosophical, it favoured Rūmī,[102] and because of its dedication to Afghanistan's ruler, an obvious expression of "sedition," which put Iqbāl in the "extremist" camp.

In Retrospect During the decade 1914-1924, Iqbāl had published his trilogy, had given public lectures, written political essays, and diverse poems, and had a very brief political engagement. Shortly before the 1920's opened, Srinivasa Sastri's weekly, *The Servant of India*, appeared (19 February 1918). Its policy was liberalism, meaning freedom from prejudice. The National Liberal League was organised in the same year (June 1918) with S.N. Banerjea as its President. The Banerjea group welcomed the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (published on 8 July 1918) which, through their efforts, passed the Imperial Legislative Council (on 7 September 1918) by a majority of 46 to 2.[103] Banerjea referred to the new tide of "reconstruction," to responsible government. The Amritsar incident (1919) crushed his hope. Hindu liberalism had lost. The first Non-Co-operation Movement and Khilāfatism had failed. The League and other Islamic organisations constantly pressed for Muslim rights in the face of Hindu suppression in the administration, education and other public organs. Among those who reached their twenties during the first two decades of our century, a representative number had obtained their university education in Europe. Many, including Muḥammad Iqbāl and Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ,[104] turned to law and politics. Having imbued Western political ideology, they were ready to use it against those who had nourished them. Freedom

101. During Mughal rule, Persian was India's diplomatic language and had a status similar to French in Europe. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān also delivered some of his lectures in Persian.

102 Similar arguments were advanced for the *Asrār-i-Khudī*.

103. Mehrotta, op. cit., p 151.

104. Jinnāḥ had studied for the Bar in England during 1892-1896, when he returned to India after passing his exam at Lincoln Inn, London.

had become their cry. Toward this end, many smaller organisations, among them, the Home Rule League, the Congress-Khilafatist Party, were set up. Non-Co-operation and Khilāfatism had great mass support, meaning that Gandhi's programme of activism had appeal to the population at large. If he could harness them through his direct action programme, Iqbāl would energise his compatriots through his poetry. He neither favoured Gandhi nor Congress as Islamic India's spokesman, standing in opposition to Āzād and others. He also disagreed with Jinnāḥ that unity was not a dream, not an ideal, but a hopeful possibility. India was restless. Segments of the peasantry, weighed down by taxes and harassed by their landlords' agents, rose (in the 1920's) in protest against the levies they were forced to pay, against a foreign Government, against their Hindu zamīndārs. It was not the first and it would not be the last time of such open rebellions. The political situation was as bad as were the economic conditions. India's leaders were imprisoned time and again. Nevertheless, they would persist in their objective: India shall become free! To this aim, Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl devoted his talents, his life.

7

INTERLUDE—II : 1924-1929

From 1924, Muḥammad Iqbāl, M.A. Jinnāḥ, Shafī' shared the political scene with J. Nehru, Gandhi, A Ghose and other Muslims and Hindus. Gandhi and Shafī' by now were fifty-five; Ghose, fifty-two ; Jinnāḥ and Iqbāl respectively forty-eight and forty-seven ; J. Nehru, thirty-five. Born in the latter nineteenth century, they had had Western education through which they, representing the middle-class educated elite, had gained self-consciousness, self-confidence and a feeling that they could change their political *status quo*. Many, if not all, did not disavow their own heritage.

"When the modern Indian reached self-consciousness and self-confidence, there could not fail to come a violent reaction from the attitude of reverence for the West which had guided his scholar-footsteps. Trained to think by his modern education, he could not fail to turn back to the ancient culture which lived in him and make the most of it. *The period of training had been too repressive, too fully dominated by the West. The reaction was bound to come.* Thus the old passionate devotion to Hinduism flared up and increased the passion of the anarchist ; and his perception of the inner antagonism between Hindu and Western culture-ideals at once justified and embittered his hatred."[1]

If one reads Islam for Hinduism, this statement fits the Indian Muslim as well as the Hindu. The other implication is that since the two communities were nourished by a different religious tradition, their reaction to Westernism would have to be particularist, preventing them from uniting by subscribing to "secular nationalism". It has been noted earlier that the numerical issue also entered into communalist politics. The quotation points to the role that religion and culture played in Indian affairs as well as to the reason for many educated Indians' anti-

1. J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London : 1929, Macmillan & Co.), p. 357. Italic ours.

Western, reaction, labelled "Religious Nationalism"[2] by Farquhar. He wrote that "a self-consecration to God and India which promises to bear good fruit" stirred "the best minds" in Hind during the earlier decades of the twentieth century.[3] His reference to "anarchists" reveals the general English view of the Indian desire for freedom.

The anti-Western reaction noted by Farquhar had been expressed by Iqbāl in his earlier writings and letters. In his case, the exposure to European life and thought gave him, despite his modernist orientation, a feeling of repulsion about the Western man's attitudes and mores. It had been expressed earlier by Muḥammad Shiblī. Was it not Shiblī who had raised the motto : "Islam in Danger"?[4] Shiblī had perceived, and Iqbāl as well as Muḥammad 'Alī and others concurred, that religion, not politics, curried the Muslims' favour. "'The followers of the Prophet,'" Shiblī had said, "'do not respond to the call of nationhood. Appeal to them in the name of religion, and you will see what a splendid response you get.'"[5] The thesis was not novel; it had been stated by Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in his *Travels*. The reason behind it is that the Muslims identified themselves politically in religious terms, viz. nationalism meant for them their identity as members of the *Millat*. The Khilāfatist furore in India, when the *Millat* was torn apart, therefore, cannot be waved aside with the single word "emotionalism". It showed up Islamic India's deep fear for its own loss of political identity. This fear was shared by Iqbāl and illumines his immediate concern with the Indo-Muslim community's destiny in spite of his insistence on fraternity and *Tauḥīd*. This is not a contradictory element in his personality; the circumstances of his birth in and continued association with Indian Islam dictated such a concern. His reaction, typical of many Muslims and Hindus, expressed

2. Title of Ch V, pp. 354-86, in ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 355.

4. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore : 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 138.

5. Ibid., text and footnote "1. Quoted in Syed Suleiman's biography of Shibli entitled *Hayat-i-Shibli*, p. 502."

itself first and primarily in a religio-cultural fashion, which then formed the bases for his political ideology.

The two forms of identification: the one religious, the other, secular, in nature, were merged in Muslim India in various ways: through (1) Khilāfatism, as said, which was internationalist; (2) the stress on the common Muslim heritage, which also is boundaryless—it is found in Ḥāli's, Shiblī's, Amīr 'Alī's and Iqbāl's works; (3) the acceptance of a regional limitation, a political fact acknowledged by most, including Iqbāl, who therefore felt the more an obligation to pound on the preservation of the *Millat*; (4) it was softened through stress on membership in Indian *Islam*, which had two foci: (*a*) the general religious identification; and (*b*) the political conception, as found in Iqbāl, the 'Alī brothers, *et al.* in the 1920's, and, later, in Jinnāḥ; and (5) through a diffusion of Islamism with Indianism, resulting in "secular nationalism," whereby religion takes a back seat and allegiance to the State becomes primary. Iqbāl denounced the last form; Āzād subscribed to it [6] A. Ghose's synthesis between religion and nationalism, also found in Ḥālī's and Shiblī's writings, and at first reiterated by Āzād, found its final and full expression in Iqbāl who insisted that it was *the* Islamic ideology. Iqbāl ultimately followed a more logical conclusion than did Āzād by subscribing to political separatism to assure not only Islam's survival, but its supremacy rather than embracing the idea of its equality with Hinduism. Innate to this idea are the Qur'ānic teachings, including those relating to abrogation of the other revelations whose teachings are found in the Muslim Holy Book, which for Muslims is supreme and final.[7] That religion had a powerful effect on politics in India cannot be denied; it caused the communalist and Khilāfatist tides and threw the Pakistan issue into the air. Neither can the mood of the Hindu and Muslim masses be ignored in understanding the political force of religion:

6. He ultimately opted for remaining with India and never switched his political allegiance. This problem did not arise for the Hindus whose religious and political identification united in their loyalty to "Mother India".

7. ii. 106.

mostly farmers and village-dwellers, they remained untouched by the Westernist educational tide. Adhering to their forefathers' ways, they are guided in their religion and education by the *mullās* or local religious leaders, who conduct the congregational prayers, classes at the mosque schools (*maktabs*), officiate at weddings and funerals, etc. The farmers' contact with the outside world remains limited. Steeped in Islam, and not in European political, philosophical and legal ideas, Shiblī was right in raising the banner of religion as a potent political force, for he knew that it was the only way to attract the masses. It was another form of the anti-Western reaction annotated by Farquhar. It, too, may explain the rise of the *Nadvah*, with which he became associated, and similar "conservative" groups in nineteenth-century India. It furthermore may clarify why Ḥālī wrote his *Musaddas*, Iqbāl his trilogy, and why these and similar writings were so successful. Their works were read avidly for many reasons. *First*, they were soporific ; as reminders of the Mussalman's former splendour, they painted a dream world in which their readers could lose themselves while in a state of hopelessness. Their, including Amīr 'Alī's, idealisation of the past dulled the pain in a time of their people's decline. *Second*, they had a psychology : they aimed at restoring the Muslims' pride in their heritage at a time when it was snubbed by Christian and Hindu alike and when secularisation had imprinted itself deeply on upper- and middle-class Muslims (and Hindus). The psychological element is present also in their attempt to imbue their audience with a strong sense of self, a new life-burst, fresh inspiration and aspiration. *Third*, they had a punetary and a redemptive quality as they served as a warning to retain loyalty to Islam during the Western episode and as an assurance that it would result in their salvation, a doctrine basic to the Qur'ān. *Fourth*, they served as an antidote to European ideology. In the modern West, political identification means religious disengagement[8] and cultural forms of expression, unlike

8. Christian political doctrine originally was similar to the Islamic synthesis between religion and State. Religious minorities resident in Christian lands formerly had to separate their political from their faith

in the medieval era, not necessarily are God-oriented. *Fifth*, their relatively simple, poetic form and use of similes drawn from rural life added to their popularity. Iqbāl was the greatest modernist among the trio, for Ḥālī particularly spent little time at Aligarh, while Shiblī was deeply in sympathy with Nadvah ideology.[9] He saw, however, that they were right in their diagnosis that the masses remained unimpressed by English culture and that, to guide them out of their hell, the call to action must be based on their own sense of identity as Muslims. Ḥālī's poignant call :

> "Let those who say 'This world is a Hell,'
> Only come and explore this Paradise!"[10]

sank into Iqbāl who much later sang:

> "'Thou canst say that the Almighty has put Paradise
> Amongst the recesses of the mountains.'"[11]

The problem facing him, as it had Sir Sayyid and Ḥālī, was to save Indian Islam from being "completely ground down".[12] By Iqbāl's time, a larger number of Indian Muslims than ever had become educated; the Muslim middle class was growing and asserting its political rights. Their battle in the 1920's, when the masses were inert and hopeless, remained tough in all spheres. While Ḥālī and Amīr 'Alī cast their glances backward, and Shiblī increasingly lost touch with the political realities of his day, Iqbāl was twentieth-century oriented. He stressed the present opportunities far more than past endeavours. He mainly was concerned with the question of how to convert to politics the large number of Indian Muslims on life's lower echelons. Behind this question lay his feeling, which he shared not

identity. The separation of Church and State as presented by the U S. Constitution is rooted in the doctrine of equality of all religious communities and aimed at preventing persecution on the basis of faith.

9. The term "modernism" hides the various nuances found in this movement.

10. *Musaddas* as quoted by Ikram, op. cit., p 79.

11. Iqbāl in his *Payām-i-Mashriq*, p 133, as quoted by S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore : 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 191.

12. Ikram, op. cit., p. 78.

only with Ḥali, Shiblī, and others, but with Gandhi as well, that mass support was necessary to gain their freedom. The situation was the more acute for Indian Islam in the 1920's and subsequent decades, because it faced Hindu and Christian missionary activities in the political, religious, economic and cultural arenas. Its leaders had to issue their demands *vis a vis* the Christian authorities and the Hindus. The triangular power structure was not lost on Iqbāl. His major difference with Ḥālī was on the issue of unity. The former had concluded by 1909 that the effort to bring Muslim-Hindu unity about was fruitless. The latter tried to reconcile Muslim and Hindu to the point that "'he will insist on bringing Hindi words into Urdu!'"[13] Iqbāl's communalist position *versus* Ḥālī's "nationalism" finds its answer partly in his own psyche and partly in the tightening of the sinews after the end of the First World War. He might not have opted ultimately for what later became Pakistan,[14] had there been some indication that communalism would not take the hard line. Hinduisation gave him anxiety for Islam's future in a united India. The early 1920's has shown clearly that communalism was not swept aside by Hindu-Muslim co-operation and that the middle-class Hindus, who had made a strong come-back, had no desire to let power slip from their hands. On the contrary, if they could grab more at the Muslims' expense, they would do so. Communalism thus was fed by those currents noted by Farquhar and comprising (*a*) Muslim and Hindu cultural revivalism in reaction to Westernism, led by the Muslims Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Ḥālī, Shiblī, Amīr 'Alī, Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl, and by the Hindus Tilak, Dayananda, A. Ghose and Gandhi; (*b*) Hindu intransigence, rigidity expressed partly in its social stratification, partly by its refusal to acknowledge the right to Islam's equal status and rights and the validity of its fears and complaints. India's future Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, acknowledged the last-mentioned as potent factors in determining Muslim India's political views and final decision. He confessed:

13. Reportedly said of Ḥālī by one of his critics, *vide* Ikram, op. cit., p. 79.

14. J. Nehru in *The Discovery of India* (New York : 1946. The John Day Company), p. 354 also seems to imply such a conclusion.

"There has been a difference of a generation or more in the development of the Hindu and Moslem middle classes, and that difference continues to show itself in many directions, political, economic, and other. It is this lag which produces a psychology of fear among the Moslems."[15]

Even such politicians as Abu'l-Kalām Āzād who politically stressed Indianism above Islamism, thereby approximating Ḥāli's standpoint,[16] could not listen silently to Hindu attacks on Islam for which he took the Hindu newspapers to task. As a journalist, he was a communalist; his ultimate decision can be regarded either as a contradiction to his statements or as a deviation from Islamic political doctrine or psychologically in terms of his inability to accept the schism. Curiously, the Ulema saw it more Āzād's than Iqbāl's way and it was Āzād, not Iqbāl, who apparently stimulated their political interests. They, as would the majority of India's Muslims, in time would side with Iqbāl who, following upon Sir Sayyid, Amīr 'Alī, Ḥālī, Shiblī, aided in laying the groundwork for Islamic India's liberation. Their nationalism had a texture different from that found in Europe or the United States of America, because of its religio-cultural orientation. This bears directly on the question of Hindu-Muslim co-operation, which failed where the issues of Hindu preponderance in local and central affairs entered. If they agreed generally on the need for India's freedom and if among both groups some shared differences of opinion on the nature thereof, the Muslims had to focus on the question of Islamic India's status within a freed Hindu-majority land. Hindu-Muslim co-operation carried out in the 1910's also through joint League-Congress sessions and in the 1920's and 1930's mainly through joint participation in many Committee debates did not efface and ultimately did not solve this central question. Again, if there was dissent on both sides on whether or not to continue their co-operation with the British and the majority of Muslims—among them Iqbāl—and Hindus preferred it to the revolutionary mode—Jinnāḥ being an

15. Ibid.

16. I am not implying that Ḥālī in the final analysis would have taken Āzād's position. The problem of choosing between India and Pakistan did not arise in his time.

exception—their reasons for it were not always identical. Then Muslims were afraid of the Hindu power, were the British to withdraw; the Hindus being in a stronger position still may have feared the Muslims.[17] Although Islamic India's independence was tied to the issue of freedom for the land of India as a whole, the Muslim leaders constantly demanded safeguards for their people. These factors strongly influenced the Muslim-Hindu and Muslim-English debates as well as Islamic India's ultimate decision to opt for a total separation from Hindu India. The British dealt with a different question: whether or not to give in to Indian demands for freedom. They, like the Hindus, remained insensitive to the validity of the Muslim leaders' demands for specific guarantees affecting their community's survival, at least until the 1940's.

Full Independence or Dominion Status? For some time, Indo-Muslim and Hindu opinion had been divided on this question. Many Indians continued to embrace Dominion Status, particularly if they had studied in England, for emotional and even cultural reasons, because English had become their mother tongue in addition to Urdu or Hindi and they had drauk deeply from European cultural sources. Among them were the "liberals" Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāh, S.N. Banerjea, to mention two outstanding figures. They could be called *swarajists* in a general sense, for the notion of Dominion Status remained undefined until 1926,[18] and the idea of *swaraj* itself remained flexible. Indians thus could choose ideologically for the time being between membership in or separation from the Commonwealth. This was the interpretation given to the notion of *swaraj* by the Punjabi Hindu, Lala Lajput Rai, who, in his presidential speech given before the (December 1920) Congress Nagpur session, had said: "if we remain in the British Commonwealth . . . we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody or by fear. We shall remain there by our own free choice and free will. . . ." Dr Iqbāl fully agreed with this statement

17. The memory of Muslim supremacy died hard.

18. It took formal shape during the 1926 Conference between the Prime Ministers of Britain, the Irish Free State and the Dominions. (R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem, Report on the Constitutional Problem* (London/New York : 1944, Oxford University Press), p. 41.

and, in the general sense, also could be regarded as a *swarajist*. Subscribing to the platform of the Swarajya Party, which he joined and which insisted on full independence, he was more radical at the time and so apparently was Congress which Gandhi swung during its Nagpur session toward accepting Dominion Status in the sense of freedom within the Empire.[19] Gandhi and the majority might be called "qualified *swarajists*"; Iqbāl and other dissenters, "unqualified *swarajists*," although he, unlike Mohānī for instance, did not wholly reject Dominion Status. He may have found it difficult to accept the eradication of the Indian-British bond and thought that such a dissolution would create great difficulties in the rendering of English aid in case Islamic India needed it. In any case, he must have agreed with the 1920 Nagpur resolution demanding that the British change the 1919 Act. A large number of *swarajists* had been swept into the legislatures during the 1923 elections. Their demand for immediate *swaraj* during the 1924 Assembly session gave substance to Jinnāḥ's (1929) statement "that the movement for independence is gaining ground". He had stated to a press representative before the opening of a general Muslim League meeting (in 1924) that he had convened it to gain their consensus not only regarding the issue of the Indian Constitution's amendment, but to create better Hindu understanding particularly in the Punjab and, more generally, to effect through the League greater Hindu-Muslim amicality in the Lucknow 1916 spirit.[20] His attempt was part of his dream for unity which was shattered later, and gains the more significance if it is seen against the growing cry for *swaraj* and even total independence, advocated by such *swarajists* as C.R. Das. He had offered co-operation with the British, however (in March 1925)—thereby upholding the Commonwealth idea—on condition that they[21] would grant independence. Despite his offer, the Government of India did not change its viewpoint,

19. There were two dissenters among 1050 Muslim and 13,532 Hindu delegates (*vide* S.R. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* [New York: 1965, Fred A. Praeger], pp. 176 and 220).

20. Ikram, op. cit., pp. 245-46 and footnote 1 on p. 246: "See *Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Syed), p. 305."

21. The Conservatives took over in England in 1925.

which was reiterated by the new Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, who said in his first speech in Parliament that the Preamble to the 1919 Act contained the "permanent and static" policy of His Majesty's Government.[22] The new Viceroy, Lord Irwin (1926-1931),[23] noted India's growing lack of trust which marked the mood ofthe later 1920's. "'How then to make them believe that we mean what we say?'"[24] His sigh reflects the agony about the old problem of dual policy, consisting of reform promises[25] to uplift India's morale and of backing down in the face of their logical devolvement —a policy questioned even by Lord Lytton nearly fifty years before. When Lord Irwin uttered it, the despairing *swarajists* had given up their Council seats. Mehrotta's comment is to the point:

"Both Irwin and Birkenhead were fully cognizant of the fact that most Indian parties and politicians disagreed with the claim of Parliament to dispose of the destiny of India as it chose, but relying upon the weaknesses of Indian nationalism they made no serious attempt to accommodate the Indian point of view."[26]

What were these "weaknesses"?—General Indian disagreement on the nature of *swaraj*, on how to attain it, apart from Hindu-Muslim tension. Lord Simon had observed as early as 1922 that India did not like "'a novel or a revolutionary procedure'".[27] The reasons were that it lay under British arms, a clear sign of their continued military subordination since 1857; its militant leaders did not believe in armed revolution which they feared to be fruitless; besides the Government answered by shutting Indian dissenters in prison; the Indians had imbibed the British dip-

22. Speech dated 7 July 1925 (Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 130). His given name was Fred. Edwin Smith. He was Secretary of State for India between 1924 and 1928.

23. His given name was Edward Fred Lindley Wood, also known as Lord Halifax (1881-1959) He replaced Lord Reading.

24. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 131 text and footnote "5. Irwin to Dawson, May 18. 1926; cited in *The History of 'The Times,'* vol. iv, pt. ii, p 863."

25. The 1919 Act granted India tariff autonomy, defined as a "Dominion attribute" (Coupland, op. cit., p. 86). The 1925 Locarno Treaty also boosted India's hope for independence as had the 1917 Imperial War Conference resolution IX.

26. Mehrotta, op. cit, p. 221.

27. Ibid., p. 221, text and footnote "2. 159 H.C. Deb, 5s. col. 343."

lomatic method of argumentation. Their peaceful debates, for the time being, led nowhere. Then came another bombshell: Lord Irwin's following announcement made (on 31 October 1929) as head of the Government of India:

"'I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgement it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion States.'"[28]

It followed in principle the view presented (in 1917) by the former Secretary of State for India, Mr Edwin Montagu. The announcement indicates the Government's interpretation of *swaraj* as meaning "Dominion Status," which it defined further as "'full responsible Government in the Empire,'" and which, "'when attained . . . must [it not] be one of equality with the other States in the Empire?'"[29] Why its preference for Dominion Status? For strategic reasons, because its presence in India gave it supremacy in the Indian Ocean and Gulf of Bengal regions, bolstering its position in the Middle East. For economic reasons, because England profited greatly from the trade with "the Indies," from its monopolies and taxation. For emotional linked with historical reasons: the British had been in India since the seventeenth century. In addition to the political theme: the centre of their empire lay in India, there was the messianic motif: here it could "prove" the possibility of international co-operation among all its Dominions linked to "Mother England". Lastly, which country would give up voluntarily "the brightest jewel in the British Crown"? Lord Irwin's announcement was a formal accession to the *swarajists'* demand. However, English opinion remained divided on the issue. The spokesmen for the opposition, Messrs Malcolm Hailey and Basil Blackett, respectively Home and Finance Members of the Viceroy's Council, insisted that to grant

28. Frank Moraes, *Jawaharlal Nehru, A Biography* (New York : 1956, The Macmillan Company), p. 143.

29 Mehrotta, op .cit., pp. 229-30 for text and p. 229, footnote 6, referring to the question raised by Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947)—he held this function in 1923-24. 1924-29. 1935-37. Cf. ibid,, p. 230, footnotes 1 and 2 citing "231 H.C. Deb, 5s., col. 1312" as the source for this quotation.

"'full self-governing Dominion Status'" to India was contrary to the 1917 declaration embodying a slower course of action which would permit the gradual solution of that country's social, economic and other problems.[30] They dampened whatever elation the *swarajists* might have felt upon hearing Lord Irwin's proclamation. The British in truth had no desire to give sovereign freedom to their prized overseas possession. Was Iqbāl not right in warning that all their statements only aimed at appeasing Indian opinion?

By the time that Lord Irwin declared his Government's intention, (1) the Muslim League, defunct during the Khilāfat period, had been resuscitated by Faḍl-i-Ḥusain[31] and passed its resolution at its Lahore (May 1924) session acknowledging *swaraj* as its policy, whereby it concurred with that passed at Nagpur (in 1920). (2) an All-Parties Muslim Conference, attended by the League, the Khilāfat Conference, and the Jamī'at-u'l-'Ulamā' had been held (January 1920), insisting amongst other things on separate electorates; and (3) Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl had publicised his stand by joining (in 1924) the National Liberal League, which is regarded as the formal beginning of his political career.[32]

He had been living in his by then well-known house in Anarkali, but by 1925 had moved to bungalow No. 34 on McLeod Road, also in Lahore. Like his previous residence, it had been rented. Bungalow No. 34 "was an old building with a compound that became smaller as the years went on, as the landlord encroached more and more on it to build more houses to earn more rent." It had "an ancient name board" with slight paint. Attended by Ali Bakhsh, "Doctor Sahib" often sat on its verandah smoking his "hookah," thinking, writing and receiving all who wished to see him.

30. Ibid., p. 213, text and footnote "4. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1924, vol. iv, pt. i, p. 357."

31. He was at the time Minister of Education, *vide* Ikram, op. cit., p 216.

32. His association with the Khilafat Committee is discounted because of its brevity. He nevertheless had become an important figure behind the political scene.

8

IQBĀL'S POLITICAL AND LITERARY ACTIVITIES

(1) *His Political Activities.* Iqbāl became a member of the National Liberal League, because it stood for complete sovereignty of " 'each community of the British Commonwealth' "and rejected inequality as well as interference of one into the affairs of another Dominion.[1] Although the word "community" in the text of the (1921) Imperial Conference document referred to Indian *versus* Canadian or British, it attracted Iqbāl's attention as it could be extended to apply to *Muslim India.* He resigned from this League because of his dissatisfaction with its ineffectiveness. He joined and then walked out of C. Y. Chintamani's National Conference in Bombay when he saw that its policy was not that of the Swarajya Party.[2] He later found a niche in the All-India Muslim League. Meanwhile, he stood for election and was chosen to the Punjab Legislative Council (on 23 November 1926).[3] He was an active member of this Council, speaking often on land revenue and taxation, demanding greater justice in land assessment and even land revenue deductions in hardship cases. He asked for compulsory primary education,[4] and advocated a better sanitation system in the villages as well as medical aid to India's women.[5]

1. Imperial Conference held during June-August 1921 in India by the United Kingdom, Dominion and Indian officials. For text, see "*Summary of Proceedings and Documents,* Cmd. 1474 (1921), p. 8" (S.R. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* [New York : 1965, Fred A. Praeger], text and footnote 1, p. 159).

2. S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (subsequently called *Studies*) (Lahore : 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 269.

3. He was contested by a Malik Muḥammad Dīn, but won over him with 3000 votes.

4. In his speech of 10 March 1927.

5. In his speech of 5 May 1927 on the 1927-28 budget.

His insistence that the Government stop writers from attacking religious leaders without reason resulted in a 1927 decree to that effect. Industrial development was another demand which he made :

"'We spend more than any other country in the world on the present system of administration. . . . We spend practically nothing on industry. And as I have said before and as many other speakers have pointed out, industrial development alone can save us from the curse of unemployment. There is a good future for weaving industry and for shoe-making industry in this province and if we encourage these industries, I think we shall be able to save the province from unemployment, provided we protect these industries against Cawnpore and Ahmedabad.'"[6]

Reference in this speech is to the Punjab wherein he lived and where he saw economic decay. Three aspects in it draw attention : *first*, its non-communal temper, although he lived in a predominantly Muslim province;[7] *second*, his advocacy of protective barriers if it benefits a particular group or province; *third*, his advocacy of strengthening industry to strengthen the employment possibilities, which is a modern economic point of view. His speeches on the whole show his active interest in the work of the Punjab Legislative Council as well as his concern with the needs of the Muslim and Hindu rural folk. His humanity transcended his communalism in the arena of economic and social affairs, at a time when Muslims were kept out of the High Court during Sir Shadi Lal's administration, serious communal riots showed Hindu-Muslim hostility and frustrated any attempts to create an atmosphere of trust between these two groups.[8] While Iqbāl was occupied with Council affairs, some important events took place. Among these were : (1) Jinnāḥ's presentation

6. In his speech of 7 March 1930 on the 1930-31 budget (*vide* S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (subsequently called *Reflections*) (Lahore : 1964, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 339-40 ; *idem, Studies,* pp. 277-79 for this (on p. 279) and others of Iqbāl's speeches as member of the Punjab Legislative Council.

7. According to the 1921 Census, Punjab's Muslims numbered 54.8%; Bengal's 52.8% (S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* [Lahore : 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf], p. 203).

8. S.M. Ikram, op. cit., p. 180.

of his "Delhi Proposals" (in March 1927); (2) the Simon Commission's arrival and long stay (November 1927-Spring 1930); (3) the split in Muslim League ranks; (4) the publication of the *Nehru Report*; (5) Jinnāḥ's submission of his "Fourteen Points". Having been covered in detail elsewhere [9] and here serve mainly as a backdrop, they will be treated in brief.

(1) *Jinnāḥ's "Delhi Proposals"*. As talks between the Indian and British leaders continued, the Muslims sensed that some conclusion to their long discourse on freedom was in the air. They, therefore, intensified their efforts to protect their own people. That is why M.A Jinnāḥ put forth his "Delhi Proposals" wherein he demanded proportionate representation in Bengal and in the Punjab, Sind's separation,[10] reforms in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, and a minimum of one-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature. Should these "Proposals" be accepted, he said, the Muslims would not reject the joint electoral system with reserved seats.[11] Congress accepted them, but India's Muslims were infuriated when they read them and particularly when they heard of his offer which they interpreted as a surrender of their rights. They forced him to retract it and most of his Proposals.

(2) *The Simon Commission*.[12] It was appointed to frame a Constitution for India in answer to the demands of the *Swarajists*, among them the Liberal Federation which had passed its resolution at its (December 1925) Calcutta meeting. The Commission raised a storm, because its membership was exclusively British. This caused Jinnāḥ's indignant protest and his as well as the Liberal Federation's outright boycott of it:

9. For instance, in ibid.; Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims, A Political History, 1858-1947* (London: 1959, Asia Publishing House); M. Shafi, *Some Important Indian Problems* (Lahore, 1930).

10 When the day of separation dawned, Sind opted to join Pakistan; so did Baluchistan and the N.W F.P., while Bengal and the Punjab split into two parts, their Muslim-dominated regions joining Pakistan.

11. Although the Morley-Minto reforms had provided no seats for Muslims, those in the Punjab secured 25%, those in Bengal 10.4%. Under the 1919 Lucknow Pact, they increased: those in the Punjab gaining 50% and those in Bengal, 40% of the elective seats.

12. So called because it was headed by Sir John Simon (1873-1954). It is also known as the Statutory Commission.

"'We are denied equal partnership. We will resist the new doctrine to the best of our power. Jallianwalla Bagh was a physical butchery, the Simon Commission is a butchery of our souls.' "[13]

Another reason for the Commission's unpopularity was that it dealt with sensitive issues relating to administrative reforms and defence and because it insisted that defence must remain an imperial obligation.

"In the course of its tour the Simon Commission met with a hostile reception everywhere. Its proceedings were rigidly boycotted. The Central Provinces Legislative Council refused to appoint a committee to work with the Commission. The Legislative Assembly also rejected the proposal to elect members to the Indian Central Committee. Nevertheless, a Committee was formed. . . . Sir Hari Singh Gour, one of the members of the Indian Central Committee, had to admit later that 'politically-minded India had organized and marshalled an effective boycott of the Statutory Commission and its Indian wing.' "[14]

Lacking any reference to Dominion Status, an omission made with obvious intent, the Simon Report[15] further engendered Indian mistrust, which Lord Irwin had tried to dampen, about British intentions. To use Coupland's words: "Any chance of accord there may once have been had passed, as suggested above, when the Commission was appointed." In fact, the tranquil mood of the Report "seemed to acquire an air of unreality by contrast with the scenes of rebellion and repression in India."[16] The Simon Report's substance as well as the Simon Commission's composition mirrored the deviation of the 1917 British policy.

13. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 201, text and footnote "6. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, vol. II, p. 451." Jallianwala Bagh was the scene of the Amritsar slaughter.

14. V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Princeton: 1957, Princeton University Press), pp. 37-38. No literary source given for his quotation from Hari Singh Gour.

15. When it published its Report on 10 and 24 June 1930, it was "woefully out of date" (F. Moraes, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (New York: 1956, The Macmillan Company), p. 143.

16. R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem, Report on the Constitutional Problem* (London/New York: 1944, Oxford University Press), p. 112, part of his Ch. VIII (pp. 97-112), entitled: "The Simon Report".

(3) *The Muslim League Split.* The Muslim League itself was divided on whether or not to co-operate with the Simon Commission. One group led by Muḥammad Shafī' disagreed with Jinnāḥ and the Indian majority by preferring co-operation with to boycotting it. Muḥammad Iqbāl joined "Shafi's branch," becoming its secretary (1928). Why? He agreed with Shafī' that to ignore the Commission would not be to Muslim India's interest. They adhered to the old argument advanced by Sir Sayyid that co-operation was to Indo-Muslim advantage. For some time, Iqbāl and Shafī' did not see eye to eye with Jinnāḥ and like-minded men, among them the Khilāfat Committee members who sided with the "Jinnah League".[17] When the "Shafi League" appointed a Committee to prepare a memorandum for presentation to the Simon Commission, Iqbāl was chosen as a member of that Committee. He strongly advocated provincial autonomy, separate electorates, etc., but, falling ill, could not work on its report. Having learned upon his recovery that the Committee had not included some of his suggestions, such as provincial autonomy, in its memorandum, he resigned as League Secretary (on 22 June 1928). He formulated his resignation in these words:

"'Since I still hold the opinion which I expressed at the first meeting of the Draft Committee, that the All-India Muslim League should demand full provincial autonomy which, in my opinion, is the demand of the whole Punjab Muslim community, I ought not in the circumstances remain Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Kindly accept my resignation.'"[18]

The League then favoured changing its memorandum to harmonise it with Iqbāl's views rather than accepting his resignation,[19] thus paving the way for his signing it as well as for his appearing together with Shafī' before the Simon Commission (on 5 November

17. The Justice Party of Madras was the only other group, apart from Shafi's, that co-operated with the Commission (Menon, op. cit., p. 35).

18. Vahid, *Studies*, p. 274, text and footnot "2. *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 148": also footnote 1 (p. 274): "M.A. Khan: *Iqbal Ka Siyasi Karnamah*, p. 118." According to Khan, Iqbāl found out from newspaper reports that his recommendations had not been inserted in the League report.

19. Ibid., p. 274, text and footnote "3. A M. Salik: *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, p. 142."

1928).[20] Nothing came of these meetings and the Commission's work because India hardly supported it.

(4) *The Nehru Report.* Amidst all these deliberations on the nature of sovereignty and that of a constitutional framework for India, the 1926 Conference had taken place and defined the dominions' status as "'autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status . . . united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.'"[21] Although a key provision was "that no British legislation should have force in a Dominion except at its request and with its consent," another was that Dominion law could be rejected mainly because it would be "repugnant" to British legislation. In other words, conformity to British law undermined a Dominion's legal sovereignty. In India, an All-Parties Conference appointed a committee (in 1928)[22] to explore the subject further and prepare a report on it. Chaired by Motilal Nehru, its results were published (August 1928) in a draft report carrying his name. It advocated that

> "'India shall have the same constitutional status in the comity of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India and an executive *responsible to that Parliament*, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.'"[23]

Suggesting one-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature and residuary powers for the provincial legislatures rather than for the Central body, it did *not* provide for separate

20. Ibid., p. 274, text and footnote "4. M.A. Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 121".

21. "*Proceedings of Imperial Conference*, 1926 (Cmd. 2768)." (Source cited by Coupland, op. cit., p. 41, footnote 1.) Not all Commonwealth members interpreted Dominion Status similarly.

22. It met in Delhi during February and March 1928, in Bombay, during May, in Lucknow during August and again in Calcutta during the last week of December 1928 when Jinnāḥ moved some amendments which were rejected (Menon, op. cit., pp. 36, 37 ; Ikram, op. cit., p. 249).

23. Quoted by Coupland, op. cit., p 93. The draft was modelled after the 1921 Anglo-Irish treaty.

electorates and advocated a unitary instead of a federated India. Amendments were: (1) Hindustani to be India's main language,[24] together with the chief tongue in each province; (2) communal, viz. Muslim, representation in Bengal and the Punjab, to be re-examined after a decade; (3) the North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan to receive full provincial status.[25] The Nehru Report, which may be considered the Hindus' answer to Jinnāḥ's Proposals, was blasted by Congress in August.[26] Despite Nehru's own opposition to Dominion Status, its Working Committee, considering it as "a great step towards political advance," "approved" it in November. It nevertheless stressed that full independence was its final goal.[27] The Nehru Report acknowledged two facts long asserted by Muslims: they are "'a minority in India'" and "as a whole fear that the majority may harass them, and to meet this difficulty they have made a novel suggestion—that they should at least dominate in some parts of India."[28] It also asserted that "religious liberty . . . and cultural autonomy" would be the solution to the "communal problem . . . although people may not realise it."[29] Neither were the Report's authors aware of their too simplistic solution in a country which had *two* political organisations representing a schismatic, not a unitary, front; where neither community fully trusted the other and, therefore, each preferred its own people to act as its formal representatives; and, where, despite the fact that Macaulay's Minute formally established English as Hind's language of education as of the laws, courts, and government 240 other tongues including Urdu and Hindi, are spoken. Add thereto the quarrels among the various segments of Indians,[30] and it becomes clear

24. The language issue had loomed much earlier.

25. A suggested convention to give the Report a legal form never was held, because of the Muslim and continued Hindu opposition to it.

26. At its All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, 20-31 August 1928.

27. All-Parties Conference, 1928, Supplementary Report of the Committee (Allahabad, 1928), pp. 31-51, for the amended text. Among the signatories of the amended Report were the new members of the enlarged Lucknow Conference: Dr M.A. Anṣārī and Mrs Annie Besant.

28. *Nehru Report*, pp. 28-29.

29. Ibid.

30. The Anglo-Indians were not much liked by the Hindus as a whole. The caste system also has been a divisive factor in Hindu society.

that unity was neither present nor easily attainable in Bharat. The All-India Muslim League, therefore, was more realistic in rejecting the Nehru Report. Its particular reasons were its rejection of separate electorates and a federated system. It preferred separate electorates because they would assure proper representation for the Mussalmans and defence of their rights. It stood for a federated India which would allow for provincial autonomy, thereby assuring non-Hindu influence in Muslim-majority areas as well as the proper safeguards for Muslim minorities in those regions having a larger Hindu population. There also was the problem of possible Hindu domination in a Central Parliament which then would not be a true representative body despite the application of the principle of elections by franchised adults.[31] Iqbāl supported the League stand in all these respects. He and many, if not all, League (and Congress) members stood for full independence!

(5) *Jinnāḥ's Fourteen Points.* They were submitted by Jinnāḥ in a last effort to retain unity in answer to the *Nehru Report* before the All-Parties Muslim Conference, held under the Aga Khan's presidency at New Delhi (January 1929). "This was probably the most representative gathering since the Simla Deputation, and included the representatives, amongst others, of the Khilafat Conference, the Jamiat-ul-Ulama, and the All-India Muslim League (both Jinnah and Shafi sections)."[32] The Fourteen Points included the following demands: separate electorates for Muslims, forced upon Jinnāḥ by his co-religionists; a federal constitution; provincial autonomy; a minimum of one-third representation in the Central and Provincial legislatures, which was among his earlier proposals; a three-fourth quorum in all elected bodies, including the legislatures, for a bill or resolution to pass; Sind's separation from Bombay Province; the States' concurrence in making any constitutional changes; Muslim participation in all branches of the administration, inclusive of the cabinets and the army; weightage for Muslims in those provinces where they formed

31. It remained a major issue throughout the 1940's (*vide* L.S. May, *Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* [Lahore: 1970, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf], pp. 282 ff.).

32. Ikram, op. cit., pp. 250-51.

a minority; proper qualifications and not religion to be the regulatory employment principle; protection of the Mussalmans' religion, language (Urdu) and culture. Shafi' then moved a resolution in favour of Jinnāḥ's Points; its last clause reads:

> "'This Conference emphatically declares that no constitution, by whomsoever proposed or devised, will be acceptable to Indian Mussalmans unless it conforms with the principles embodied in this resolution.'"[33]

The All-Parties Muslim Conference, which reiterated the Indo-Muslim position, gave to India's Mussalmans what the Aga Khan termed their "'code-book'".[34] Jinnāḥ's presence at this Conference and Shafi''s formal acceptance of his eminent colleague's platform reveal that they agreed on many basic issues. Pakistan's future Governor-General was despondent, however, for he realised that he was losing his fight to preserve Hindu-Muslim unity. On this issue, he stood apart from the majority of his people, including Iqbāl. To what extent he was influenced in his later position by his famed contemporary is another question. Jinnāḥ, himself, may have realised during the subsequent years that communalism was not waived away with the magic wand of idealism. Neither could he ignore the force of popular sentiment nor British policy which constantly gave in to the Hindu viewpoint.[35] It shows that the Englishman, like the Hindu, did not fully appreciate the Muslim leaders' anxieties, which shaped their viewpoint and demands. Neither did the British officials take seriously the Indians' loss of confidence in the Government's promise reiterated by the Viceroy (in 1929) that Dominion Status was the "natural" outcome of the 1917 policy. Jinnāḥ described India's mood in a long letter which he addressed to Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald (on 19 July 1929), in which he said that British dilly-dallying strengthened the *swaraj* movement. He wrote:

33. Mehrotta, op. cit., p. 203, text and footnote "2. *Times of India*, January 2, 1929."

34. Ibid., p. 203, text and footnote "3. The Aga Khan, *Memoirs* (1954), p. 210."

35. This is clear from the acceptance of the *Nehru Report* by His Majesty's Government in London in 1929, and its accession to Hindu demands as late as the 1940's.

"There is a section in India that has already declared in favour of independence, and I may tell you without exaggeration that the movement for independence is gaining ground, as it is supported by the Indian National Congress. . . . I would most earnestly urge you at this moment to persuade His Majesty's Government without delay to make a declaration that Great Britain is unequivocally pledged to the policy of granting to India *full responsible Government with Dominion Status.* The effect of such a declaration will be very far-reaching . . . *and will be a severe antidote to the movement for* independence." [36]

That was Jinnāḥ's, not Iqbāl's, position in 1929. Iqbāl embraced the "radical" position held by Sayyid Mohānī, viz. *svaraj* in the sense of total autonomy for Islamic India, which could and did imply for him and the Sayyid a separation from the British Empire.[37] In another year, he would make this very clear in his speech as President of the All-India Muslim League. If few stood on Jinnāḥ's side on the issue of preserving Hindu-Muslim unity, few embraced Iqbāl's viewpoint by 1929.

The political discontent in India was aggravated by the economic plight of the peasantry. Weighed down by taxes and harassed by their landlords' agents, they had risen (in the early 1920's)[38] against the levies they were forced to pay. The Government of India answered back by imprisoning labour and trade union leaders, who would be joined in a few years by India's most eminent political personalities. "The remedy of course lay not in these measures but in statesmanship." [39] The Government's efforts to stifle India's longing for "full responsible Government" by jailing could not but intensify her freedom demands. Congress presided over by J. Nehru—he had turned forty in November 1929—passed the following resolution formulated by Gandhi at its annual (December 1929) session held at Lahore: " 'Swaraj is now to mean

36. M.H. Saiyid, *M.A. Jinnah, A Political Study* (Lahore : 1954, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 456 ; pp. 450-59 for the entire text of Jinnāḥ's letter. Italics ours.

37. He favoured Dominion Status only as a Muslim defence measure in a united India.

38. Particularly in the United Provinces and in Gujarat, Gandhi's district.

39. L. Fischer, op. cit., p. 95.

complete independence."[40] Jinnāḥ had painted India's mood well: The view of the activists J. Nehru, A. Ghose, *et al.* prevailed in Congress by the end of 1929. Iqbāl wholly agreed with their resolution, applying its spirit to Islamic India.

Apart from his political activities and lecturing and amidst the disconsolate situation, he found time to write. Amongst his compositions published during this period (1924-1929), are: the *Bāng-i-Darā'* (1924) and the *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (1927).

(II) *His Literary Activities. The Bāng-i-Darā'*.[41] It eulogises man's origins, grandeur and universality, as expressed in terms of his omnipresence:

> "'In height my habitat kisses the sky,
> I am cloud of the hills and I shed flowers.
> At times I dwell in deserts, at times I make my abode in gardens,
> Towns and wastes are mine, the ocean is mine and the forest is mine. . . .'"[42]

The principal reason for this eulogy, of course, is man's creation by Allah Who bestowed upon him dominion on earth, as shown by the last-cited verse with its emphasis on the possessive pronoun. This line undoubtedly has a political tone, saying that the Indians are the masters of their own God-given land.[43] Another reason for man's greatness is his intellect that elevates him above all other creatures:

> "'Intellect one day addressed the heart and said:
> "I guide the benighted who have lost the way.
> Though I belong to earth I soar up to the skies,
> Look to the heights I fly.
> My function is to lead the world,
> I am like Khizar the sacred guide."'"[44]

40. Ibid.

41. It is a compilation of earlier and later poems which were collected in a single volume under the above title, abbreviated as *BD*. All quotations here are taken from Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*.

42. *BD*, p. 11, poem entitled "Clouds amongst the Hills" (*Abr-i-Kuhsar*), as quoted by Vahid, p. 181.

43. *Vide infra*, *Jāvid Nāmah* (subsequently called *JN*).

44. *BD*, p. 28; Vahid, p. 204.

The word "sacred" used in association with the Intellect is significant, because it underlines Iqbāl's view that it is created as part of the human constitution and that it is not to be ignored, therefore, and because it is a potential factor in life. The idea is not new; it was presented, if in a different way, in Iqbāl's earliest Persian work: the *Secrets of the Self*. He adds a condition here as he had in the *Asrār*: intellect without love breeds aridity. It connects with his view that Western civilisation with its materialist orientation is built on sand. This theme is not novel in Indo-Muslim literature. It was presented first by Abu Taleb in his *Travels*, who nevertheless praised certain Western forms, among them the relative economic well-being of England's aged.[45] Iqbāl presents in poetic form the notion that the Western spirit is devoid of love and the warning to his countrymen—he used the Urdu language—that they beware of imitating secularism which is contrary to their own tradition and way of life. It is another expression of the anti-Western reaction stated earlier. The love theme is linked with the unity doctrine, which permeates the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* and most of his works: " 'The secret of unity is concealed in diversity.' "[46] It contains the motif that the Punjabi, Bengali, Sindhi and other Muslim groups within India are one by virtue of their Islamic heritage despite their having been influenced by regional cultures. It is at the same time another warning not to fall prey to modern political schismatism, but to retain loyalty to all members of the *Millat* within and without India, and not to ignore the validity of Muslim cultural expressions in other regions of the world. The verse immediately following upon that cited above: " 'What is lustre in a glow-worm becomes fragrance in a flower,' "[47] again has a political message: the Indians are regarded by their overlords as worms, but they glow, because they dare to challenge the English ruler; further action will make them bloom as a flower. Vignettes taken from Nature to make a political point are used by Iqbāl in all his works. Love and action result in immortality, another idea present in his poetry:

45. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 131, as quoted in *Sources*, op. cit., p. 564.
46. *BD*, p. 84; Vahid, p. 185.
47. *BD*, p. 84; Vahid, p. 185.

"Thou art entangled in the meshes of Time and Space;
But, defying these, I soar aloft to Heaven."[48]

This verse applies directly to the Indian situation by implying that the entanglement is due to the difficulties of finding a way out of the dilemma; once the solution is found, for which the human must search no matter how difficult it may be under particular circumstances, he can let his mind freely develop. It also contains Iqbāl's philosophical statement on man's condition: although he is bound to time and space during his terrestrial sojourn, he is immortal:

"Man's spirit never knows extinction.
It is lost to sight but does not fade away."[49]

A third related interpretation is the poet's advice in these verses to his co-religionists at least that they wake up to the fact that they are immortal of which they have lost sight through their apathy. This interpretation, which runs counter to taking the notion of "fade away" (*fanā'*) in a mystic sense, seems to be bolstered by the following lines:

"In Nature's eyes life is so dear
That every object is striving to preserve life.
If Death could efface the impress of life,
The universal order would not have made it so common."[50]

The phrase "striving to preserve life" is the philosopher-poet's observation about the sacredness of God's creation, his call to the Muslims to imitate Nature, and a snub at the British for ignoring the preciousness of human, e.g. the Indians', life.[51] The stanza beginning with the words: "If Death could efface . . ." sculpts the human life cycle in relief. The immediately following lines:

"'Being so widespread, death has no significance.
Like slumber it causes no loss to existence'"[52]

48. *BD*, p. 29; Vahid, p. 204.
49. *BD*, p. 264; Vahid, p. 208.
50. *BD*, p. 259; Vahid, p. 208.
51. *JN*, p. 58: "On . . . based," and p. 129: "Love . . . love". Cf. *BD*, p. 259.
52. *BD*, p. 259; Vahid, p. 208.

contain a philosophical view and a political theme. The philosophy embeded in them is that life extends through time and space, connects post-territorially so that, in truth, the word "death" is meaningless; death does not interfere with the earthy life-form which continues on earth in spite of it; as a Divinely-created precedent to the *post-mortem* state, it is filled with meaning, for it is in life, on earth, where man must manifest through action that he is worthy of his Creator Who put him here for this purpose in the first place. Linked with this philosophy is the political teaching that those who perish in action do not die; they are the saints who will enter Paradise. The *Bāng-i-Darā'* contains many autobiographical passages, the most poignant being Iqbāl's address to a star, in which he says:

> "'Still your tiny existence is so frightened,
> And you pass the whole night quivering with fear.'"[53]

They may or may not refer to a particular moment in his own life; they indicate in any case his fear about the immediate political future facing Indian Islam. The events in and after his time showed that fear not to be irrational. The Hindu-Muslim riots in which many perished, particularly during the partition period (1947), which he did not witness, gave added force to his self-image as a prophet:

> "'A seer does not appear in a garden easily,
> For thousands of years the narcissus cries on her lightlessness."[54]

Iqbāl's reason for using the phrase "thousands of years" was that orthodox Islam subscribes to the Qur'ānic doctrine that "Muḥammad is the Seal of the Prophets,"[55] i.e. no prophet will arise after him so that the Revelation which Allah transmitted to him is final. Iqbāl declaimed that he was a prophet in this sense; his task was to present to his people the choice between salvation and perdition.[56] A line in his *Diary* also projects this self-image:

53. *BD*, p. 185; Vahid, p. 179.

54. *BD*, p. 306; Vahid, p 29.

55. xxxiii. 40.

56. So did the Prophets of Israel, to whom, unlike to Moses, the Law was not revealed. Their function lay in interpreting Torah and in presenting a political doctrine based on its teachings.

"A Prophet is only a practical poet." [57] It is the better understood when reading:

"Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians." [58]

In the first, Iqbāl states the poet's aim which must have practical intent. In the second, the poets (to read: prophets) are juxtaposed to the politicians who have no original or creative function, but are burdened with everyday tasks, which limit their vision. His harsh judgment of politicians must be understood within the context of India's political situation in his time. It can be regarded at once as an accusation against English officialdom for strangling Hind and against most Muslim politicians (including Jinnāḥ) who refused to see the impossibility of a Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* and hence negated the idea of a separated Islamic India. It may also be a veiled allusion to India's death under the British and a warning that the same fate would befall Islamic India if it were to remain united with the Hindu part. What he is saying essentially is that politicians refuse to see the underlying mouldings on which the structure known as a country rests and that, if they are aware thereof, they will ignore it and sell out their people if it would serve their own interest. Iqbāl could be hard! It deepened the pain within his soul, a pain born from his people's suffering and his own sense of frustration and loneliness. Is it any wonder that he longed to get away from the din of meaningless argumentation and the echoing clamour of prison doors:

> "'I run away from Noise, my heart longs for
> Quiet which even a speech will envy;
> I long for quietude and I have but one wish,
> To own a hut amongst the quiet hills. . . .'" [59]

There he can listen to the birds' "serenade" and the "organ"-like sound of a fountain's "murmurs". Peace can be found also during the evening hours in Lahore :

57. Javid Iqbal, ed., *Stray Reflections* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons), p. 126.

58. Ibid., p. 125.

59. *BD*, p. 35; Vahid, p. 192.

" 'In the stillness of the evening the Ravi is busy
chanting,
Do not ask me what is going on in my heart.
Here I am standing by the side of the waters
Yet I know not where I am standing.' " [60]

They recollect his enchantment with an Indian (Pakistani) landscape, making him forget momentarily the fleeting woeful present. With his pen he paints India's beauty :

" 'So enchanting is the landscape of the hill country,
That water rises in ripples to have a look.' " [61]

Who can be blind to the divinely-wrought beauty of creation ?

" 'Nature is the fathomless deep of Beauty,
If one has eyes to see, every drop has a tulmult of
Beauty.' " [62]

It ensnares its lovers who must tear themselves away to carry on with their work. So Iqbāl cannot linger too long in the hill country or near the Ravi River ; he must continue with attending meetings, making speeches, giving his lectures and with his writing, although all these and other daily activities begin to fatigue him : " 'Perhaps the pallor of thy face is due to tiredness from a journey.' " [63] He nearly collapses from his hard work :

" 'The fire of my song has burnt me out,
But this provides the means for my sustenance too.' " [64]

He acknowledges the material and spiritual rewards of his work. The first verse, however, is sombre. Does it and the preceding one mean that he had an inkling of his forthcoming illness when he wrote them ?

The Zabūr-i-'Ajam.[65] This work was published a year before Iqbāl fell ill. Written in Persian, as was his trilogy, it is his fervent plea to Allah to bestow soaring strength upon the Muslims:

60. *BD*, p. 96, Vahid, p. 183.
61. *BD*, p. 35 ; Vahid, p. 183. Cf. *BD*, pp. 3-4 ; Vahid, p. 174.
62. *BD*, p. 95 ; Vahid, p. 179.
63. *BD*, p. 76 ; Vahid, p. 180. It is part of Iqbal's "Addreses to the Moon".
64. *BD*, p. 214 ; Vahid, p. 30.
65. All quotations from it again are found in Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal.*

" 'Thou who didst make more ardent
My sighing and my tears,
O let my anthem quiken
The dust of a thousand years, . . . ' "[66]

The last line refers to the millennium of Muslim decay after a brilliant medieval period ; the one preceding it echoes the poet's hope that he will succeed in reviving Indian Islam ; the second reveals his anguish and his pain ; the first alludes to God Who willed Iqbāl to share in his people's sadness caused by their frustrations and entrusted him with the task of instilling hope and a more dynamic approach. The last point forms part of his concept of a "practical" poet's function. Referring in the following verses to life's "passion" and "strife," he reiterates his desire that he may be successful in executing his God-given task :

" 'And when my breath caressing,
Shall softly, sweetly blow,
The withered heart will blossom
The tulip newly glow.' "[67]

The outcome of the Muslims' strife will be that they will blossom once again as they did a thousand years before. The theme in these verses connects with Iqbāl's longing for a Muslim revival expressed in his much earlier "elegy" on Sicily. He then continues with a prayer :

" 'O Master, guard the honour
Of him who begs of thee
He'll let no wine of others
Within his goblet be.' "[68]

No one can convince Iqbāl of any truṭh other than that which he sees, wherein lies his honour and the validity of his work, and he never will succumb to portray anything less than the truth.[69] What is this truth ? He defined it as follows :

66. *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (subsequently called *ZA*), p. 9 ; Vahid, p. 15 ; "Translation by A.J. Arberry". These and the following stanzas form part of the same *ghazal* or "ode".

67. *ZA*, p. 9 ; Vahid, p. 15.

68. *ZA*, p. 9 ; Vahid, p. 15.

69. He, like the Prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 27 : 9 ff.), distinguished between good and bad prophets, the later falsifying the truth to lull their people asleep.

" 'The stage of submissiveness is different from the stage of love,
From Celestial Beings Thou demandst obedience but from Earthly creatures something more.' " [70]

Iqbāl tells the Muslims that submissiveness to God—which is *the* meaning of the word *Islām*—is insufficient; their Creator demands love and, in its name, action. He subtly connects this theme with his political message: they must not remain in a servile state, but break the chains with which the foreigner has bound them. He put it beautifully in one of his works:

"Friends are happy that a wanderer has reached the destination,
And I still confused after having acquired all knowledge and learning." [71]

The "wanderer" is Iqbāl who symbolises here his subject people ignorant of their own capacities, the truth of life: Freedom, and their own glorious cultural heritage. The religious, political, psychological, historical and cultural themes are interwoven in these two verses. The confusion results from trying to be a European while one remains essentially a Muslim. He draws the sharp contrast between imitators of the West who never can be true to themselves because they cut themselves off from their own tradition and those who remain loyal to it and thus are assured of a meaningful life and mental tranquillity. The former are among those who " 'are gone astray from God' "; the latter are among the saved. Merciful Allah searches for the confused wanderers:

" 'For like us, He is need entire
And the prisoner of desire.' "

It is not an irreverent statement, because the "desire" had by Allah is that His creatures recognise Him and obey His laws. His message is writ in Nature: "on the tulip's petal," "in the iris fold"; it is heard even "in the passionate song of the bird". Although He is found everywhere in His creation, "hidden in every grain," in every "cottage and street,"

70. *ZA*, p. 61; Vahid, p. 72.

71. *ZA*, p. 69: Vahid, p. 81. Cf. *JN*, p. 129, *BD*, p. 259,

" 'Parted from us forlorn
He sighs with the breath of morn . . . ' "

because "not yet is He known to man".[72] The poetic magnificence with which Iqbāl portrays Divine forlornness and omnipresence matches the profound meaning which these verses have. He wrote them to tell the Muslims not only of creation's grandeur, but of the Creator's love and need of them and of theirs for Him. By recognising this need, they will be saved:

" 'Fearest thou death in thy deathless heart,
Death's but a prey that before thee lies.
Life once given thee, none can take ;
'Tis for lack of faith man faints and dies.' " [73]

It is a reiteration of his philosophy, expressed in somewhat similar terms in the *Bāng-i-Darā'*, that death does not exist, and that man is immortal. Death is wandering through life without searching for God, wantonly ignoring His revelation. Among those lacking faith are the non-believers in the Creator and in themselves, for it is belief in Him that strengthens one's individuality—which is a psychological idea The indolent preferring inertia to activity also belong to the impious, for they do not heed Allah's command to engage in action, necessary to guard His creation :

" 'But that eternity is better which a borrowed soul
Wins for itself through love and frenzy ! " [74]

Iqbāl petitions Allah again :

" 'No desire my spirit moves
Save the prayer : An eagle spirit,
Lord, bestow upon thy doves ! ' " [75]

It alone is the "cure of the afflicted spirit," [76] raising the

72. *ZA*, p. 132; Vahid, p. 201, tr. by A.J. Arberry of all these quotations.

73. *ZA*, p. 164; Vahid, p. 206.

74. *ZA*, p. 237, Vahid, p, 209. The "borrowed soul" implies individualisation during a singular moment comprising a person's terrestrial life. Behind it lies his idea that essentially all humanity is one (*vide Reconstruction of Religion Thought in Islam* [subsequently called *Reconstruction*] [Lahore : 1944, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf], pp. 93-94).

75. *ZA*, p. 57 ; Vahid, p. 18 ; tr. A.J. Arberry.

76. *ZA*, p. 57 ; Vahid, p. 18.

Muslims to frenzied activity which will turn their long winter into spring. That moment is not far off:

" 'The days are ended
Of winter long,
The branches quiver
With living song.' "[77]

In predicting the end of his people's suffering if they adhere to Allah's dicta, Iqbāl used another prophetic theme. His insistence on activity which brings salvation is not novel and will be recast in future works, but it blazes forth in poetry glowing like the multihued earth under a golden sun. On it, in spite of noise and pain, our tired poet can find his rest:

" 'Light from the moon is tranquil,
Branches of every tree are still.
The singers in the valley are quiet,
The green trees on the hillside are quiet.
Nature has become unconscious,
Slumbering in the lap of the night.
The charm of quietude is so enchanting,
Even the flow of the Neckar is quiet.
O, my heart, thou too be restful,
With woes by thy side sleep and be quiet!' "[78]

The *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* and the *Bāng-i-Darā'* do not contain any essentially new message. Their importance lies in reiterating their author's major political plank of activism and in disclosing his philosophy of creation and of man, of life and death, and for revealing his personal sentiments at particular moments in his career. Neither can their poetic beauty be minimised.

Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl did what he preached. Not satisfied with his writing and political activities, entertaining friends and visitors, he gave public lectures at Lahore and elsewhere in India. Mumtaz Hasan describes what happened at one of these delivered by Iqbāl at Lahore (in 1925). He apparently did not speak clearly enough, prompting an unidentified listener amidst the large audience to shout: " 'Loudly and slowly please! We cannot follow you, *you* Doctor Iqbāl!" Many were angered by this

77. *ZA*, p. 53; Vahid, p. 15.
78. *BD*, p. 136; Vahid, p. 176.

outburst except the speaker.

"Wearing a dark European suit with a Turkish cap, and an Olympian smile on his face, he stood as though nothing had happened. 'I can speak more slowly if you like,' said he, without so much as lifting a brow, 'but I cannot speak more loudly'."[79]

Silence followed and Dr Iqbāl, unruffled, continued with his lecture. This glimpse of him shows various facets of his personality: his calmth, his gracious willingness to oblige, his lack of arrogance in spite of his eruditeness and fame. These qualities, to which must be added his compassion, social consciousness, his genuine desire for economic improvement, endeared him to his audiences. He not only was a celebrated poet by 1926, but recognised as "one of the greatest philosophers of our time. . . ."[80] It was this recognition that caused his invitation by the Madras Muslim Association to deliver a series of lectures (in 1928) at the Universities of Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh. Three dominant themes in them and also found in his poetry are the Qur'ān's supremacy, the spirituality and the superiority of Islamic culture; a fourth is its continuation in medieval Western Europe which was indebted to it:

"There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. *There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam.* Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture."[81]

He had expounded these themes as early as 1909. They reflect his unchanging attitude and are an affirmation of Islam's originality, inner strengths and its continued validity in modern times. They also tell the European-oriented Muslim that he need not snub

79. *Recollections*, p. 24.
80. Ibid., p. 26.
81. *Reconstruction*, p. 7. Italics ours.

his own heritage which has deeper meaning and strengthen him spiritually. In answering the question : "Is Religion Possible ? "[82] that is, in a scientifically-oriented world, he said :

"In fact, religion . . . is far more anxious to reach the ultimately real than science. . . . In the domain of science we try to understand its meaning in reference to the external *behaviour* of reality ; in the domain of religion we take it as representative of some kind of reality and try to discover its meanings in reference mainly to the inner *nature* of that reality. . . . "[83]

Continuing by saying that both "are in a sense parallel to each other" and that "Both are really descriptions of the same world," he refers to the ego's involvement in the religious life, whereas it does not integrate similarly when engaged in scientific study. He is distinguishing between the cool scientific spirit and the warm religious life. He also stressed that, although the analytic or objective and pious or subjective modes derive meaning from experience, "in the religious process the ego integrates its competing tendencies and develops a single inclusive attitude resulting in a kind of synthetic transfiguration of his experiences."[84] Religion's importance cannot be denied, therefore, not even amidst a society's rapid transformation into a technology. Against this view, Iqbāl's stress in his *Lectures* on individual *versus* group experience, if put in terms of the prophetic "unitary experience" which refashions "the forces of collective life," becomes the more important. There are two major aspects involved in this statement. The *first* is complex, but broadly speaking refers to his and the Qur'ān's idea of individuality in the sense that every person is a singular entity in his created form, stands alone before Deity and must assume the consequences of his decisions and actions. Linked with it is the notion of Divine judgment of each ego—apart from the Qur'ānic doctrine of collective redemption—and his *post-mortem* salvation or punishment. Iqbāl's statement on individuality relating it to the Prophet's "mystic consciousness" which transcends the unitary or collective experience has psychological apart from philosophical intent. He is implying that each indi-

82. Ibid., p. 180, where it forms the title of Chapter VII.
83. Ibid., p. 196. 84. Ibid.

vidual is responsible for his own conduct and that he can bring new ideas from the depth of his being which will "disclose the new directions of life". It is another way of admonishing the Muslims to awaken to the possibilities that life is offering them and to assert their mental and physical energies. It thus links with the teachings found in his earliest major work: the *Secrets of the Self*. It also forms the bridge to the *second* aspect involved in his stress on individuality, which he clarified by defining inspiration (*waḥy*) as "psychic energy," namely, "what I call prophetic consciousness—a mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing ready-made judgements, choices, *and ways of action*".[85] What he implied here was that independent reasoning (*ijtihād*) is not contrary to Qur'ānic teaching, that those individuals having fresh insight and novel ideas can and must contribute meaningfully to their society, that they should choose from the wealth of new avenues thus opened up and exercise their judgment on each possible course of action according to the circumstances. He, therefore, not only emphasised action and individual judgment which he insisted are taught by the Qur'ān, but also the development of a critical faculty necessary to make judgment and choices and non-predestinarianism allowing for the application of man's capacities to the ever-changing living conditions. He maintained regarding the first: "The birth of Islam . . . is the birth of inductive intellect." This permits each person "to achieve full self-consciousness," impossible to attain unless he is "thrown back on his own resources."[86] This marks his "freedom and his immortality,"[87] his freedom because he is not a passive "recipient of divine illumination," but each action that "a free ego" initiates "creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding."[88] By taking the initiative, and by acting, he can aspire to immortality which "is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it."

85. Ibid., p. 125, for all quotations in this part. Italics ours. Cf. S. 19: 95-96 cited by Iqbāl in ibid., p. 117.

86. Ibid., p. 126.

87. Title of chapter IV: "The Human Ego—His Freedom and Immortally," in ibid., pp. 94 ff.

88. Ibid., p. 123.

Iqbāl conceived of immortality in psychological as well as in philosophical and concrete terms: the third relates to activity which allows the ego to grow and "belong to the meaning of the universe";[89] the second pertains to death and after-life, which he described as follows: death is an illusion; it does not really exist and, therefore, is not to be feared; "death, if present action has sufficiently fortified the ego against the shock that physical dissolution brings, is only a kind of passage to what the Qur'ān describes as 'Barzakh'."[90] He described *Barzakh* according to "records of Sufistic experience" as "a state of consciousness characterized by a change in the ego's attitude towards time and space. There is nothing improbable in it." It "therefore, does not seem to be merely a passive state of expectation; it is a state in which the ego catches a glimpse of fresh aspects of Reality, and prepares himself for adjustment to these aspects. It must be a state of great psychic unhingement, especially in the case of full-grown egos . . . and may mean dissolution to less fortunate ones."[91] Death, therefore, has a "constructive meaning."[92] It lies in the facts that there is hope in life and that physical dissolution does not signify life's end. For Iqbāl the Qur'ān "suggests that the nature of the universe is such that it is open to it to maintain in some other way the kind of individuality necessary for the final working out of human action, even after the disintegration of what appears to specify his individuality in his present environment. What that other way is we do not know."[93] He insists "that in view of the past history of man it is highly improbable that his career should come to an end with the dissolution of his body." He continues by saying: "Heaven and Hell are states, not localities. . . . Hell, in the words of the Qur'ān, is 'God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts'—the painful realization of one's failure as a man. Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration." He more sharply defined Hell as "a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine

89. Ibid., p 119. 90. Ibid., pp. 119-20.
91. Ibid., p. 120. 92. Ibid., p. 121. (*Vide BD*, p. 259).
93. Ibid., p. 122. Qur'ān, l. 3-4, is cited in support.

Grace." He added: "Nor is Heaven a holiday." He meant thereby that it is not a locality of eternal pleasures derived from the drinking of wine and the listening to the chorus of the Angels, but a state where the soul continuously progresses by receiving "ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which 'every moment appears in a new glory.' "[94] The philosophical merges with the psychological in his descriptions of the soul as a stream of consciousness, of one's deeds as "ego-sustaining and ego-dissolving acts"[95] of *Barzakh* as "a state of great psychic unhingement," and of the resurrection as "the consummation of a life process within the ego."[96] Indebted to the teachings of Western psychological schools,[97] Dr Iqbāl gave a modern interpretation[98] to the life-death-immortality cycle which does not accord with traditional Islamic teaching. Do we hear an echo of Darwin's theory that only the fittest will survive in Iqbāl's statement that the *Barzakh* state "may mean dissolution to those egos" which are not prepared for "the shock that physical dissolution brings"?[99] Where Iqbāl concurs with the traditionalists is on the general Qur'ānic teachings concerning the cited subjects. Iqbāl's modernist exegesis, as that of Sir Sayyid and others, is made possible by the relatively free interpretation of their Holy Book by the first and subsequent Muslim generations "in the light of the up-to-date human knowledge possessed by them". The result was "the immense range of the semantic variability of the Qur'ān,"[100] to which the nineteenth- and twentieth-century

94. Ibid., p. 123, for all quotations in this section.

95. Ibid., p. 119.

96. Ibid., p. 120.

97. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Alfred Adler (1870-1937) and Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) *Vide* ibid., p. 191 for his discussion of Jung.

98. J M S Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran-Interpretation* (1880-1960) (Leiden: 1961, E.J. Brill), p. 111: "For the righteous He gives the resources for a better future.... His penalties [are] identical with reformation. Hell is a hospital..." (Aḥmad Dīn in *Bayān*, 453). Baljon (ibid., footnote 3) then quotes Iqbāl's statement: "Hell is a corrective experience...."

99. Ibid., p. 108, footnote 2 for Iqbāl.

100. S.Q. Fatimi, "The Qur'ān and the Challenges of Modern Times," *Voice of Islam*, Vol. XII, No. 4, January 1964, pp. 180 ff.; p. 186 for the two quotations.

generations richly have contributed. In other words, there was great elasticity which the Purists tried to stop. "The extreme lengths of latitude taken by the *Batini* schools of *ta'wil* were also responsible for the orthodox *Sunni* reaction going to the other end."[101] This reaction has not stopped and is responsible for the theologians' opposition to non-traditional exegesis. Sir Sayyid, Iqbāl and the modernists generally feel that: "Static language inevitably leads to stilted thought. . . . And therein lies the heart of the tragedy of the modern Muslim."[102] Many Muslim interpreters failed because they "were not so well-equipped either in modern or Islamic sciences or both." The range is wide in both demanding a mastery which might be even beyond the intellectual capacities of a genius.

"Iqbal (in his lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*) succeeded where other modern interpreters had failed. Probably because he confined himself to one branch of knowledge which he knew so well, that was Philosophy. But with such specialization how can we get an integrated view of the Qur'an? This dilemma is one of the basic challenges of modern times."[103]

Iqbāl at least faced the challenge courageously and brilliantly and yet was unable to overcome the traditionalists' resistance. This is in itself a very big problem which lies beyond the nature of this discussion.[104] A very general answer is that, of course, resistance grows the hardest in times of momentous change to retain one's distinct identity. Aware of these changes and longing to make the Muslims aware of them, Iqbāl pounded on the presence of the evolution idea in Islam, permitting its adherents to acknowledge its true spirit and meet the challenges of their time,[105] which is but a part of TIME, within which their historical development occurs. Time itself "is a genuinely creative movement and *not* a movement whose path is already determined."[106] This statement links with his rejection of predeter-

101. Ibid., p. 187.
102. Ibid., p. 188.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid., pp. 188-89.
105. *Reconstruction*, pp. 133 ff. (Chapter V: "The Spirit of Muslim Culture").
106. Ibid., p. 141, Italics ours.

minism itself connected with his urge to reactivate his people. Man's journey through life on a collective basis furnishes ample evidence of his activism and deserves study for the growth of consciousness at a particular epoch.

> "The growth of historical sense in Islam is a fascinating subject. . . . The possibility of a scientific treatment of history means a wider experience, a greater maturity of practical reason, and finally a fuller realization of certain basic ideas regarding the nature of life and time."[107]

He defines these "basic ideas" as: "1. The unity of human origin" meaning at once "organic unity" and "equality"[108] and: "2. A keen sense of the reality of time, and the concept of life as a continuous movement in time."[109] Rejecting the cyclic doctrine of time held by Hinduism and Buddhism, because it "ceases to be creative,"[110] he referred to the great Muslim historian Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) whose conception of history: it consists of "continuous movement," i.e. of constant change, he regarded "of infinite importance".[111] For Iqbāl, the study of history is the study of change, which was another way to impregnate in his audience the certainty that the Qur'ān does not teach passivism and that Islam is not a static creed, but advocates change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change."[112] Europe failed because it turned its back on the "eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change."[113] Islam failed by its "immobility . . . during the last 500 years" because it understood these "eternal principles . . . to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of

107. Ibid., p. 140. Notice the reference to "practical reason," implying Kant's influence.

108. Ibid., p. 140.

109. Ibid., p. 141.

110. Ibid., p. 142.

111. Ibid., p. 141.

112. Ibid., p. 147.

113. Ibid.

God. . . ." [114] Accusing the orthodox Sunnites for rejecting Islamic rationalism which they feared would undermine Muslim dogma,[115] and Sufism for its other-worldly approach: at least in its later stage,[116] Iqbāl stressed that "the Quran . . . embodies an essentially dynamic outlook on life." [117] It has been obscured by over-organisation, resulting in an individual's loss of soul, which "our modern Ulema do not see".[118] Referring amongst others to the situation in Turkey where *ijtihād* once again was permitted, Iqbāl said: "If the renaissance of Islam is a fact, and I believe it is a fact, we too one day, like the Turks, will have to re-evaluate our intellectual inheritance." [119] He added a note of caution: "And if we cannot make any original contribution to the general thought of Islam, we may, by healthy conservative criticism, serve at least as a check on the rapid movement of liberalism in the world of Islam." [120] By "conservative criticism" he meant the application of Muslim spiritual criteria which nevertheless acknowledge the validity of change and modernity to assure the preservation of Islam's religious heritage. How did he define this heritage? " Religion, which is essentially a mode of actual living, is the only serious way of handling Reality." [121] Its primary source is the Qur'ān,[122] followed by the Ḥadīth, which is "the second great source of Mohammedan Law,"[123] *ijmā'* " which is, in my opinion, perhaps the most important legal notion in Islam." It is, however, strange that this important notion, while invoking great academic discussions in early Islam, remained practically a mere idea. . . . " [124] What Iqbāl meant was that *ijmā'* should have acted in a democratic rather than in an exclusively authoritarian way dominated by the 'Ulamā'. Hoping that "the growth of republican spirit, and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands" which constitute "a great step in advance" [125] will change *ijmā'*

114. Ibid., pp. 147-48
115. Ibid., p. 149.
116. Ibid., p. 150.
117. Ibid., p. 149.
118. Ibid., p. 151.
119. Ibid., p. 153.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., p. 184.
122. Ibid., pp. 165 ff.
123. Ibid., p. 171.
124. Ibid., p. 173.
125. Ibid., pp. 173-74.

into a democratic institution, he added that it thus will allow laymen to gain "a keen insight into affairs. In this way alone we can stir into activity the dormant spirit of life in our legal system, and give it an evolutionary outlook. In India, however, difficulties are likely to arise; for it is doubtful whether a non-Muslim legislative assembly can exercise the power of Ijtihad."[126] He did not live to see Pakistan's assemblies come into existence, but he forecast accurately the difficulties which its heads, beginning with Governor-General M.A. Jinnāḥ, met from the orthodox in setting up a first Constitution allowing non-Muslim Pakistanis a say in its formulation as well as giving them entry to policy-making and military positions. Iqbāl went so far as to ask: "Can the Ijma repeal the Quran?" Despite some statements to the contrary, he assured his audience that "There is not the slightest justification for such a statement in the legal literature of Islam."[127] He was acutely aware of the extreme liberalist viewpoint[128] which had crept into Indian Islam. To offset its influence and its resultant secularism he had to ask the question: "Is Religion Possible?"[129] His definition of religion has been given. Stressing again the need for individuality in order to have religious experience,[130] he emphasised that "religion as a deliberate enterprise to seize the ultimate principle of value and thereby to reintegrate the forces of one's own personality, is a fact which cannot be denied."[131] He stated furthermore: "The Muslim . . . is in possession . . . of a revelation which, speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalizes its own apparent externality."[132] His answer to the above question clearly is that religion is necessary, for it gives spiritual guidance which man needs in order to integrate his personality with the Ultimate Reality (God). Iqbāl is orthodox in this view and in saying that the Qur'ān remains the Muslims' spiritual guide. However, he is

126. Ibid., p. 174.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid., p. 162.
129. It forms the title of Chapter VII in ibid., pp. 181 ff.
130. Ibid., pp. 183, 185, for instance.
131. Ibid., p. 189.
132. Ibid., p. 179, which quotation appears in Chapter VI (pp. 146 ff.): "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam".

modernist in his insistence that their Holy Writ, and neither Ṣūfī nor *mullā* nor the *'Ulamā's* consensus, serves as their only supreme authority. He also is modernist in advocating that reason or intellect plays an important role in life, although this does not mean "that the ultimate fate of life is complete displacement of emotion by reason. Such a thing is neither possible nor desirable."[133] Iqbāl balanced reason with faith, the critical with the "emotional" side of man. Advocate of a rationalist philosophy, scientific reasoning and industrialisation, that is, of the technologisation of the Muslim world and particularly Islamic India, he wanted to guarantee at the same time that these newer forces and trends would not cause religion's repudiation by those under their impact so as to create a spiritual void.[134] That is why he attempted to synthesise, at had al-Ghazālī long ago, science and religion or reason and faith. "The truth is," he said toward the end of his *Lectures*, "that the religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching the most real."[135] That is, God. In their present edition the *Lectures* close with a quotation from his later *Jāvīd Nāmah*; a few verses summarising their dominant themes of action, transformation, also meaning spiritualisation, follow:

" 'Tighten the knot of thy ego ;
And hold fast to thy tiny being !
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun !
Re-chisel, then, thine ancient frame ;
And build up a new being.
Such being is real being ;
Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke ! ' "[136]

A Few Final Comments. The *Lectures* are his major prose

133. Ibid., p. 127.

134. That is why he asked the question : "Is Religion Possible?" and answered by saying that it is necessary in the contemporary world, because of its secularising pull.

135 *Reconstruction*, p. 195.

136. Ibid., p. 199.

work.[137] They were delivered in English before generally literate Muslim audiences.[138] They are primarily philosophical in nature and show Iqbāl's firm grasp of Islamic and Western philosophy, theology, principles of Western psychology and Muslim as well as Western history. They reveal his eruditeness and his masterly control of the English language. They also disclose his very deep desire to communicate with his hearers among whom were many young students and teachers imbued with the Western trends of thought, earnest in their zeal to change their world, feeling inadequate for lack of understanding by their elders and held back by them and by the *'ulamā'* and *mullās.* Aware of the heavy modernist tide which also had engulfed Iqbāl and of the strength of the conservative pull in Islamic India, he tried to caution the first group not to become too secularised and suggested to the second group to yield to modernity by assuring them that religion never would become outmoded. He thus hoped that they would accept a newer interpretation of Islam so that they could lead their people in their renaissance.

In Retrospect. Between 1923 and 1929, Iqbāl had published three books: The *Payām-i-Mashriq*, the *Bāng-i-Darā'* (1924) and the *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (1927). He had entered an active political career (in 1924) and had presented many public lectures. He had observed at first hand the socio-economic problems in the Punjab and had pressed for legislation to correct them. He also saw the ugly manifestations of communal strife which he—like all leaders—felt helpless to prevent. The Simon Commission—boycotted by Jinnāḥ—came and went without being effective. The hot debates on Jinnāḥ's "Delhi Proposals," Nehru's "Report" and Jinnāḥ's "Fourteen Points" resulted in an impasse. On top of it, the Muslim League was split, although Shafī' and Jinnāḥ later reached some understanding as they both participated in the All-Parties Muslim Conference (January 1929), before which Jinnāḥ presented and Shafī' moved the resolution accepting his colleague's "Points". The Indians, Muslims and Hindus, stood

137. His Dissertation is not as highly regarded.

138. They undoubtedly included a sprinkling of Westerners, if not also of Hindus.

divided on the question whether *svaraj* should mean Dominion Status or full independence without any imperial ties. Within the British Government opinion on whether or not to grant India freedom and Dominion Status remained divided. Shutting up the freedom baiters in jail, they pushed Indian sentiment in the 1920's, as Jinnāḥ had noted, toward complete independence. Iqbāl had travelled south on invitation to deliver his famous *Lectures* a year before Jinnāḥ wrote his important letter. The two men, equally respected, still stood apart on the basic issue of Hindu-Muslim unity. Iqbāl by 1929 was back in Lahore, which was his home. Sapping his energies by lecturing, writing and his political work, he had begun to long for a respite from the din of life. He nevertheless would continue with all his activities and remain in the vortex of politics for some years to come.

9

TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

1930-1935: (a) Political Development

When 1930 opened,

"the country was tense with suspense. Rabindranath Tagore, for whom Gandhi had the deepest veneration, was in the neighbourhood of Sabarmati Ashram and came for a visit on January 18. Piqued by curiosity, he inquired what the Mahatma had in store for India in 1930. 'I am furiously thinking day and night,' Gandhi replied, 'and I do not see any light coming out of the surrounding darkness."[1]

Gandhi added: "'There is a lot of violence in the air.'"[2] It was not the first time. India was waiting to see what action the Mahatma would take Rajendra Prasad's remark is apt: "Hindu society is on trial. If it has any life in it, it must now respond with a great and magnificent act.'"[3] It was not only Hindu but also Muslim society which was "on trial" from 1930 on. How Iqbāl felt about the situation is found in a letter which he wrote to Jinnāḥ: "I have no doubt that you fully realize the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. . . .'"[4] Iqbāl

1. Fischer, op. cit., p. 95. The *ashram* is a centre founded and directed by a Hindu saint. R. Tagore (1861-1931), Bengal's foremost Hindu poet—Nazrul Islam is the Bengali Muslim counterpart—was D. Tagore's son.

2. Ibid., p. 96.

3. Frank Moraes, *Jawaharlal Nehru, A Biography* (New York: 1956, The Macmillan Co.), p. 203. R. Prasad was India's Vice-President. His statement is not dated.

4. Iqbāl expressed his sentiment in a letter (*vide* M.H. Saiyid. *M.A. Jinnah, A Political Study* [Lahore: 1945, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf], pp. 564-67 for its full contents written on 28 May 1937, (Cf. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, The Political Future of Muslim India (Lahore: 1956, Muhammad Ashraf), 32 pp. Pp. 16-26 for its contents and p. 16 for its date, which either is confirmed by or repeats the date given by Saiyid, p. 563).

was concerned as before with its destiny for he saw the forces of discontent rapidly growing throughout Hind. Even Gandhi had changed his position, which he clarified in a letter to Lord Irwln (1930) as follows:

"'And why do I regard the British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinous expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford. It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture.... I fear... there has never been any intention of granting... Dominion status to India in the immediate future....'"[5]

Iqbāl witnessed the results of the Mahatma's second civil disobedience campaign (launched on 12 March 1930). Not only were he and the Nehrus jailed, but they were joined in prison by about "60,000 political offenders".[6] At the time of the Round Table Conferences in London (1930-1932), the Indian Government sat in prison When he, together with the Nehrus and twenty other prominent Congressmen, were freed[7] on the eve (25 January 1931) of Independence Day proclaimed by Congress, hundreds were dead and thousands still languished in jail. Their crime: their longing to be free. Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaigns were aimed at making India "become true to itself,"[8] containing the themes of a "religio-cultural reaction" and sacrifice. They showed that India's majority were angry and that they were desisting British rule, willingly suffering imprisonment and death, being certain that England was not invincible and that in due time they would become free. A considerable number of Muslims participated in this second mass manifestation led by Gandhi, although their response was "less than in 1920-1923".[9] Jinnāḥ, like Iqbāl, looked askance at these popular campaigns and criticised Gandhi

5. Cited by Fischer, op. cit., pp. 96-97, quotation on p. 96.

6. Ibid., p. 100. He was arrested on 4 May after the Salt March in protest against the British monopoly and salt tax.

7. To allow him to attend the second Conference. Nehru was re-arrested soon.

8. J. Nehru, *Discovery of India* (New York: 1946, The John Day Company), p. 385. Subsequently referred to as *Discovery*.

9. The idea lying behind *satyagraha*.

for favouring and leading them:

"'Your methods have already caused split and division in almost every institution that you have approached hitherto . . . and your extreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and illiterate. All this means disorganization and chaos.'"[10]

What Jinnāḥ feared were leaderless mob action, destructive and incapable of triumph, and intensified communal riots, inductive neither to Hindu-Muslim unity nor to internal peace nor to strengthening the feeling of security amongst India's Mussalmans. Communalism aggravated "the split and division," caused also by the dissension in Hindu as well as Muslim ranks concerning *svaraj* and unity as well as by British policies which did not grapple with India's real problems and did not intend to bring the two communities together. The "split" further was brought home by Jinnāḥ's break with Congress (by 1930), due to his disagreements with Gandhi whose personality was dominant and to the League's repudiation of his efforts to retain unity. Depressed about his failure, and having had enough for a while of Indian politics, Jinnāḥ departed for England (1930-1934), surveying the home scene from afar. Of equal importance in understanding the events in the 1930's and even 1940's was that Gandhi henceforth remained *Hindu India's* leader of anti-Government activity. A third chief factor was the Hindu leadership's inability to understand fully Muslim India's fears. "We failed," wrote J. Nehru, "in finding a solution for the communal problem agreeable to all parties concerned, and certainly we must share the blame as we have to shoulder the consequences for this failure."[11] It was left to Iqbāl to reflect upon the situation amidst mass marches, jailings—he luckily was spared them—more Congress-League debates, Jinnāḥ's deflated hope, his and the Muslims' despair. Although he had decided at least twenty years earlier that unity was "a fiction," he now chose to publicise what had seemed to him an unalterable fact: Islamic India's freedom from Hindu

10. Saiyid, op. cit., p. 265, citing from letter bearing no date. He had been the only person out of 1050 Muslim and 13,532 Hindu delegates to cast his vote against the 1920 Nagpur resolution to begin the first civil disobedience campaign.

11. Nehru, op. cit., p. 389.

domination. His chance came when he was invited to preside over the All-India Muslim League's annual session at Allahabad (on 29 December 1930). After having been called to order, Iqbāl arose and said:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India." [12]

He also referred in this speech to Muslim India as "a nation in the modern sense of the word" and to "what I call the *Indian international* problem". This speech mirrored Ḥasrat Mohānī's view expressed (in January 1922), which itself had a long history, wherein fits Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's two-nation theory.[13] Lajpat Rai's analysis was correct. It indicates Iqbāl's total repudiation of the idea of federalism and his disinterest in Dominion Status *per se*. The reasons were his lack of faith in Hindu India and in the British Government. The right to be free and to have self-determination were of uppermost concern to him. He feared that neither would be had if Islamic India remained part of Hind and a member of the Commonwealth. His statement that he regarded the Indian problem international in nature reveals his conception of Muslim India as being a separate and an autonomous State. His geographical delineation by referring to "North-West India" was based on practical considerations: the majority of India's Muslims were concentrated there and it would be unfeasible to include, for example, Malabar in the extreme south.[14] Lastly, it was Iqbāl who formally presented the

12. Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1948, Al-Manar Academy), p. 12. Italics in original.

13. L S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* (Lahore: 1970, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 83-84.

14. Malabar by then had close to one million Muslims or about 25% of its total inhabitants. The percentage was about 26% Muslims in the United Provinces of which Delhi Province formed a part. These percentages —although respectable—could not compare with those of 40% and over in the North-west. The Muslims of the N.W.F.P. constituted about 90% of its population.

Pakistan scheme," because Chaudhrī Raḥmat 'Alī, a student at Cambridge, did not circulate his pamphlet, *Now or Never*, until three years after Iqbāl's presidential speech (on 28 January 1933). Raḥmat 'Alī himself was an admirer of Iqbāl and undoubtedly was inspired by his great countryman.[15] If the name "Pakistan"[16] was coined by Ch. R. 'Alī, its ideas conveying Indo-Muslim unity, Islamic India's political and cultureal autonomy and survival, stretch back to the nineteenth century.

"The truth, however, is that Iqbāl was the first to put it up in a reasonably practical form, and bring it for serious consideration before the biggest political organization of the Muslims. The fulfilment of the scheme—a far more difficult task—has been largely the work of Jinnah. Chaudhri Rahmat Ali had, however, his own contribution to make."[17]

There is no doubt that the task to execute the plan was exceedingly difficult, but it was Iqbāl who had the equally hard job to convince India's Muslims, of mentally preparing them to face up to their responsibilities, of the need to act on their own behalf *and* of the impossibility of remaining within the proposed Indian Union. He reiterated the "Pakistan idea" in his presidential address before the Muslim League during its annual meeting (on 21 March 1932 at Lahore). Again scoring Europe's "atheistic materialism"—at a time when Fascism and Hitlerism were coming in vogue—he insisted on Muslim patriotism along religious lines. Neither his Muslim nor his Hindu audiences took him seriously. Years later (in 1935), Jinnāḥ still considered it "a crazy scheme".[18] J. Nehru wrote in his *Autobiography* (1936):

"This idea of a Muslim nation is the figment of a few

15. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 183.

16. C.R. Ali defined "Pakistan" along geographical lines by taking the capital letters from various Muslim areas in India and other Islamic lands, viz. from the Punjab, Afghania (N.W.F.P.), Kashmir, Iran, Sind, Tukharistan, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. He also referred to "the land of the Paks" as "the spiritually pure and clean".

17. Ikram, op. cit., pp. 181-82; May, op. cit., pp. 278-79.

18. According to K.A. Ahmad, *The Founder of Pakistan, Through Trial to Triumph* (Cambridge: 1942, W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd.), p. 19.

imaginations only, and but for the publicity given it by the Press few people would have heard of it. And even if many people believed in it, it would still vanish at the touch of reality."[19]

That it was not to "vanish at the touch of reality" became clear as the years wore on. Nehru neither appreciated the force of the idea which, to repeat, had been in the air for a long time, nor did he take sufficient account of Iqbāl's influence on his country's Muslims. This influence was noticeable particularly on the young students many among whom anyway tend to take a "radical" political standpoint. The Hindu leader found it impossible to conceive of India's actual partition into two separate parts. One other point must be made: "Formal religion has not played a very important part in Jawahar's life. He never goes to a temple, prays in the conventional way or meditates in the Indian custom."[20] He was more English than Indian due to his upbringing; yet the force of Hindu traditionalism bore upon him which explains Gandhi's influence over him. Iqbāl standing on the opposite fence publicly had presented his "Pakistan scheme" in India and, while in London to attend the last two of the Round Table Conferences, imparted it privately to Jinnāḥ and other delegates. To accept the view[21] that Iqbāl had changed his mind by 1930 or that he proposed his idea because he was thrust into it by virtue of his presidency of the All-India Muslim League does not seem to be borne out by his earlier statements in his correspondence and in his poetry. While he made his presidential speech, the first of three Round-Table Conferences was in session in London (12 November 1930-19 January 1931). It apparently was convoked on the suggestion of Motilal Nehru when voting on the Congress 1924 resolution in favour of *svaraj*. Jinnāḥ and Muḥammad 'Alī together with Indians appointed by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin,[22] participated in that Conference at which Congress,

19. J. Nehru, *Autobiography* (London : 1936, John Lane).

20. Krishna Nehru Hutheesing (sister of J. Nehru) in an article entitled: "Nehru and Madame Pandit," published in the *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1955, pp 34 ff ; p. 82 carries the textual quotation.

21. Nehru, *Discovery*, p. 354.

22. He soon would be succeeded by Lord Willingdon (1931-1936).

whose leaders were in jail,[23] was not represented. Apart from the Aga Khan who presided over them, Iqbāl, Gandhi and others attended the second (7 September-1 December 1931) and third Conferences (17 November-24 December 1932), to which Jinnāḥ was not invited. They came to naught.[24] Jinnāḥ had demanded at the first that "the Hindu-Muhammadan settlement is a condition precedent . . . before any constitution can be completed for the Government of India" and that the British Government give "adequate safeguards" for the Muslim community. A resolution affirming his second demand was adopted during that Conference's plenary meeting (on 19 January).[25] Muḥammad 'Alī had added during the earlier discussions that India not only had Hindu but also Muslim majority provinces. "'That gives us our safeguard, for we demand hostages as we have willingly given hostages to Hindus in the other provinces where they form huge majorities.'"[26] The other principal question concerned the distribution of power, Jinnāḥ insisting that it be held by the provinces to safeguard autonomy in Muslim-majority provinces; the Hindu leaders demanding that it be retained by the Central Government. The same issues, including the question of safeguards for *all* of India's minorities, were battered during the second and third Conferences. The delegates to the second one afterwards reconvened at Simla to continue their discussions. Neither Iqbāl nor Jinnāḥ[27] saw eye to eye with Gandhi on how to assure Muslim autonomy in a united India nor on the wider

23. J. Nehru was imprisoned for the sixth time on 26 December 1931, freed on 30 August 1933, and jailed again "5 months and 13 days later" (Moraes, op. cit., p. 207) and released on 4 September 19:5.

24. An agreement, the "Delhi Pact," was signed by Lord Irwin and Gandhi on 5 March 1931, the British promising to release prisoners and permit salt manufacture, Gandhi pledging to call off civil disobedience.

25 May, op. cit, p. 275.

26. Mehrotta, *India and the Commonwealth* (New York: 1965, Fred A. Praeger), p. 198, footnote 2 for quotation and its source: "Cmd. 3778, pp. 103-4."

27. Before the second London session opened, Jinnāḥ had negotiated a "Minorities Pact" with Dr Ambedkar, who represented the Depressed Classes and with the leaders of the Anglo-Indians and other groups.

minority issue nor on other constitutional topics. None[28] concurred with Government which lacked full sympathy for India, felt that Hind's people were not fit for self-government, regarded the administrative issues too complex for a short-term solution and showed their real intent by continuing to imprison its leaders. Unwilling to take a real interest in Hind's problems, and hoping to gain from division, the British diplomatically suggested during the Round Table gatherings that the Indians themselves work out the solutions to those questions that plagued them. The former knew well that the faith issue would prevent the latter from coming to terms with each other, as the London meetings again had shown. The British nevertheless thought that, by keeping their hands off and by publishing their "White Paper"[29] after the third Conference had closed, wherein they summed up their recommendations, they would appease the *svarajists*. These would be induced to believe that they could freely shape the future Indian constitution and that the Englishmen finally were prepared to satisfy their subjects' desire for autonomy and equality within the Empire. Iqbāl long ago had pointed to the British appeasement policy.

When he came to London, where an Iqbal Literary Association had been formed (in 1931), Jinnāḥ not only was the main speaker at its reception in his compatriot's honour, but invited him for lunch at his home. Iqbāl thus had ample opportunity to present his views in private conversation with him. Although he was unable to change Jinnāḥ's mind altogether on the unity issue, he apparently

> "had got Jinnah seriously interested in what came to be known as the 'Pakistan Scheme,' but even then he did not return to India to take it up. He was biding his time, watching events, brooding on them, and all the time, most unhappy. . . . Meanwhile he was getting reports from India that Indian Muslims were a flock of sheep without a shepherd."[30]

28. Gandhi was infuriated by the Communal Award granted by the British to the Depressed Classes (in 1932), because he saw it as their trick to divide Hindu and, generally, India, more.

29. The British Parliament endorsed it in March 1933.

30. Ikram, op. cit., p. 253.

Between 1930 and 1932, Iqbāl had been carrying the burden of keeping the League active and providing supreme political guidance to the Indo-Muslim community. Muḥammad 'Alī had died while attending the first London meeting; Muḥammad Shafī', too, was deceased; the Aga Khan's and Ḥasrat Mohānī's leadership no longer was effective.

"The League and the Muslim Conference had become the plaything of petty leaders, who would not resign office, even after a vote of no-confidence! And, of course, they had no organization in the provinces, and no influence with the masses."[31]

Iqbāl was the only one who had it, but his political activities had been centred on the Punjab, where he resided. He also felt by 1932 that he no longer had the physical stamina to direct League affairs at the centre, supervise its provincial organisation, engage in endless public meetings and private conferences, give lectures, write and attend to his personal affairs. Aware that Jinnāḥ with his broad grasp of Indian politics and Indo-Muslim as well as Hindu and British recognition was still dynamic and powerful, Iqbāl was convinced that he who voluntarily had exiled himself was the only man who could fill the leadership gap, resulting also in the League being defunct between 1933 and 1936. Iqbāl and other Indian Muslims, therefore, pleaded with their compatriot to return to his native land and assume control. Jinnāḥ did not give in so quickly, for he visited India only during a few months prior to 1934. The insistence of Dr Iqbāl and others and their nomination of Pakistan's future Qā'id-i-A'ẓam as permanent president of the All-India Muslim League finally induced Jinnāḥ to come back (in October 1935). He still was hoping for unity—his dream died hard. He must have been deeply impressed by his colleagues' action bestowing upon him a great honour, but also reflecting their anxiety and longing for solid and effective leadership. He also must have thought deeply about what Iqbāl undoubtedly told him during their London conversations, namely, that unity was impossible as was indicated by (*a*) their dissent with Gandhi; (*b*) earlier communal happenings; (*c*) Hindu communalist policies; (*d*) the fruitlessness of all efforts to

31. Ibid.

eradicate communalism; (*e*) Muslim inability to rely on the British,[32] who neither were interested in granting freedom to India nor in heeding seriously the Mussalmans' grievances and fears. Not only Jinnāḥ but the majority of the Muslim middle class still regarded and would consider for some years to come the Pakistan idea "a student's scheme . . . chimerical and impracticable."[33] At least so says the Joint Select Committee Report based on innumerable debates (April 1933-November 1934) and on an analysis of Indian opinion. The deliberations among the members of this Committee and of other Commissions[34] crystallised in the 1935 Government of India Act. It envisaged a federated India with autonomous provinces and princely States,[35] but it annulled the system of dyarchy and allowed any governor to cancel the autonomy of the province under his supervision. It also separated Sind from Bombay Province, setting it and the North-West Frontier Province up as separate units. The Act pleased no one, because it revealed that the British had no intent to relax their grip over Indian affairs either at the centre or in the provinces and because it ended dyarchy. The Muslims furthermore were dissatisfied, as it did not provide guarantees for Muslim representation in such provinces as Bengal and the Punjab where they received respectively 47% and 49% of the 1935 election vote so that their majority in the assemblies of these two provinces was not assured. The Hindus were angry; they were committed to independence and, hence, to fight the Act whose "proposed federation petrified British rule and vested interests in India."[36] Hindu resentment was the fiercer, because the new Act furthered political schism by giving Sind and the N.W.F.P. with their heavy Muslim populations—as well as the

32. A new Government again led by Ramsay MacDonald meanwhile had taken office in London, with many Conservatives, among them the late Winston Churchill, who stood opposed to Indian freedom, taking seats.

33. R. Symonds, *Making of Pakistan* (London: 1949, Faber and Faber), p. 59, text and footnote "2. Report of Joint Select Committee on Indian Reforms: Minutes of Evidence, questions 9,598 to 9,600."

34. Nehru, *Discovery*, p. 358.

35. This Act for the first time recognised the states' right to be autonomous.

36. Nehru, *Discovery*, p. 370.

States—an autonomous status. Congress still had little to fear from the League. It must be kept in mind that Jinnāḥ just had returned and had had no time as yet to reorganise the League, which was too weak to win over other entrenched parties in the 1935 elections. It was a sad situation amidst which the League's overhaul, at the centre and in the provinces, as well as getting of Muslim support for it—many did not regard it as their exclusive spokesman by 1935—became the more urgent. That was the task of Jinnāḥ who also had decided to contest the 1935 elections. Iqbāl's confidence in him was justified despite the fact that they still had their disagreements. He later would reaffirm that he considered Jinnāḥ the only true leader of Islamic India.

During these further years of Indian ferment, our philosopher-poet, turned politician, had not abandoned his literary activities. He had been busy writing his famous *Jāvīd Nāmah*, which was published during the year that the last Round Table Conference took place (in 1932).

Revolutionary Writings

Jāvīd Nāmah.[37] Iqbāl defined this masterpiece of his, which he again wrote in Persian and the cadenza of the classical *Mathnavī*, "as an Islamic Divine Comedy". He put its action not in the netherworld, however, as Dante[38] had done, but in heaven. Several reasons account for it : (1) the religious: because man is essentially immortal and will ascend to heaven ;[39] (2) the philosophical : the human is involved in a cosmic battle between the powers of good and evil—here the satanic figure again emerges—whereby he gains heavenly recognition ; (3) political : in this

37. Trans. by Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad, Lahore : 1961, Institute of Islamic Culture. All quotations are taken from this translation of the *Jāvīd Nāmah*, abbreviated as *JN*.

38. Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), author of "The Divine Comedy" (*La Divina Commedia*, *c.* 1300), the word "Divine" having become attached to it in the sixteenth century. Consisting of 100 *cantos* or "songs," it envisions the soul's journey through Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, implying the sin-purification doctrine. It also presents a religious, moral and political system of the cosmos.

39. *Vide JN*, p. 188.

contest, which is fought out on earth as well, he, that is, the Muslim, will triumph, thus assuring his terrestrial and *post-mortem* salvation; (4) literary: the cast in which the Italian set his work with its profound substance caught Iqbāl's imagination. Our Muslim poet gave his "Pilgrimage of Eternity" (*Jāvīd Nāmah*) a paradaisical mould because of his own philosophy of man which accords with Qur'ānic doctrine.[40] "In one sense the entire *Pilgrimage of Eternity* is an exposition of the doctrine of the self."[41] The reason for this assertion is that the doctrine of selfhood (*khudī*) is its foundation.

The *Jāvid Nāmah* opens with the following lines:

"'Man in this seven-coloured universe,
Ev'r given to lamentation like the flute,
With longings for a kindred soul, that burn
His being and instruct him to strike forth
Sweet melodies, looks at this universe
Of lifeless matter formed, unattributed with
A throbbing heart. . . .'"[42]

They partly contain traditional cosmology, viz. the theory that creation emerged from chaos[43] with particular reference to the chaotic political situation in India. The word "unattributed" primarily has a theological[44] meaning: it refers to Deity's nature and signifies that His Knowing, Hearing, etc., which are called His attributes, are an essential part of it. This theory was formulated in medieval times to guarantee Divine unity. It philosophically can mean that that which is formless has no attributes.[45] The term "unattributed" more popularly signifies a characteristic not assigned to a particular person. It furthermore has a cosmological meaning, namely, the universe is not

40. The Qur'ān teaches that man is immortal (vi. 60; xxxvi. 51, 53).

41. S.A. Rahman in "Introduction" to the *JN*, p. xix.

42. *JN*, p. 1, lines 1-7.

43. Reference is to the *creatio ex nihilo* or "creation out of nothing" doctrine.

44. This word is derived from the Greek *theos* and *logos* or "God" and "root," "science" and meaning: "the science of God".

45. Deity is conceived of in anthropomorphic terms, that is after the form (*morphy*, which again is a Greek word) of man (Gr.: *anthropos*) or, more commonly said, in man's image (*dhikr* or *zikr*: meaning "a mental image").

analogous to either God or man; it is heartless in the sense of being void of any feeling. Iqbāl employed it in this last sense, but gave it a political twist by conveying that the British are cold-blooded imperialists. His literary mode of expression shows up the contrast between God and man. Iqbāl also is saying in this section that the Muslims long for compassion from Divinity and from their co-religionists. The "kindred soul, that burn his being and instruct him to strike forth sweet melodies" undoubtedly is Iqbāl. He unfolds here his self-image as a singer of action, as are many guitarists today, at least in the United States. The dominant motifs of his "sweet melodies" are self-awakening and activism.

Self-Awakening. The psychological theme in the *Jāvīd Nāmah* begins with a definition of the soul:

" 'What is the soul?—it is a blissful zeal,
An anguish and a holy fire that seeks
To make assault and conquer firmaments.' "[46]

The soul with its innate energy (psychic stream) is divinely wrought. Anguished about the conditions that beset it, causing it to languish, it ought to be filled with "a blissful zeal" and burning with "a holy fire," to change them:

" 'O knowing man,
Learn that the soul is not confined in space,
But that the liberated man defies
All gaols, and furious grows at this dark earth;
For hawks cannot perform the work of mice.' "[47]

First, a philosophical statement about the soul's essentially free condition: prior to birth and after death it is without confinement. The same idea, put differently, is presented in his *Reconstruction*:

"The soul is neither inside nor outside the body; neither proximate to nor separate from it. Yet its contact with every atom of the body is real, and it is impossible to conceive this contact except by positing some kind of space which befits the subtleness of the soul."[48]

46. *JN*, p. 17, verses 356-358.

47. Ibid., pp. 51-52, verses 1080-1084.

48. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: 1944, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 135.

He defined this type of thinking as "religious Psychology".[49] What he is saying here is that the soul prior to being "incarnated" exists freely in space, but when attached to a body, it has a real relationship. The intimate connection cannot be ignored for the soul gives life to the body and induces it to act. Traditional Islam furthermore embraces the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, so that the soul-body unity must be asserted. Iqbāl did not subscribe to this doctrine. His reference to "the subtleness of the soul" assumes added importance, because it means that invisible as it is, it cannot be described in substantive terms. The cited passage in the *Reconstruction* is the more complex because he says therein that no statement concerning the soul's association with the body can be made, but follows it by making such an assertion. The passage is taken out of context, for it is part of Iqbāl's summary of 'Irāqī's doctrines of space and time,[50] in relation to Deity. Iqbāl commented upon ending his summary: "Iraqi is really trying to reach the concept of space as a dynamic appearance."[51] What Iqbāl tried to convey in this sentence and in the preceding quotation was that space being dynamic and the soul belonging to or having its life in space, it consequently also is dynamic. It illumines the meaning of the sentence : "The soul is neither inside nor outside the body ; neither proximate to nor separate from it." This means that the soul neither is permanently nor is not permanently a part of the body, viz. it is not always incarnate, while human life implying such an incarnation is an eternal cosmic process. The stress on its "real" contact with the body derives from the view, as stated, that it acts as the latter's guide. Man thus gains his insight, actions and religious ideas from the soul which is at once in direct contact with God and with the human. The soul is the centre of his spirituality and is immortal; it gives him his individuality. The phrase: "the liberated man" found in the above quotation from the *Jāvīd Nāmah*, can be taken either in an individualistic or in a

49. Ibid., p. 134.

50. Ibid., pp. 134-37. 'Irāqī was, in Iqbāl's words (ibid., p. 137), "a cultured Muslim Ṣūfī".

51. Ibid., p. 137.

collective sense. That passage, beginning with "O knowing man," an invocative form, immediately followed by an imperative: "Learn that . . . " has political meaning as well: India is a gaol in which the Muslims are held as slaves (mice) while they are in reality free men whose souls soar to heaven (like hawks). Their thrust toward freedom is part of the Divine purpose:

> " '. . . To forge a world
> All new is thy appointed destiny.' "[52]

That the reference is particularly to the Indian Muslims is obvious from the following verses:

> " 'Recall the days that thou has spent,
> And measure what is yet to be,
> Shake off thy ancient slumber *now*
> And let thy mind new vistas see.' "[53]

The word "now" stresses that the time is ripe for them to throw off their yoke. It is not an impossible task, but it depends upon one's state of mind about one's present confinement:

> " 'If thou shouldst be embittered by thy fate,
> Seek from the Lord a fiat which will change
> Thy destiny entire: He doth command
> Fates limitless. . . .' "[54]

In these two passages, Iqbāl tells his readers: (*a*) if you have had enough, you will want to change; (*b*) if you want change bad enough, ask God to help you; (*c*) He will come to your aid, because He had not decreed any situation to be permanent (non-fatalist view); (*d*) you must take the initiative. They disclose Iqbāl's feeling that man *is* a dynamic being—connected with his doctrine of the soul—and that he has the capability to improve his life and, in fact, to transform the earth into a heaven—a heroic notion. He expressed it in his *Note-Book* as follows: "Given character and healthy imagination, it is possible to reconstruct the world of sin and misery into a veritable paradise."[55] The Qur'ān also advocates dynamism:

52. *JN*, p. 55, lines 1148-1149.
53. Ibid., p. 84, lines 1783-1786. Italics ours.
54. Ibid., p. 97, lines 2060-2063.
55. *Recollections*, op. cit., p. 102.

"... it is He (God)
Who hath made the ships subject
To you...
And the rivers...
Hath He made subject to you.
And He hath made subject
To you the sun and the moon...."[56]

It furthermore teaches the doctrine of transformation:

"One day the Earth will be
Changed to a different Earth...."[57]

Although the Messianic Age is implied here, an interpretation in terms of terrestrial change is possible. This is how Iqbāl interpreted these and similar lines. The whole point of his argument was that the Qur'ān does not preach statism, which is contrary to the nature of creation wherein change, willed by God, constantly occurs. Those who subscribe to fatalism falsify the meaning of Qur'ānic teachings and prefer enslavement to freedom. The soul being created as a free "agent," there is no Divine or human decree determining a limited fate. Iqbāl furthermore advises his audiences that, if they do not believe him, they should turn to Allah for "a fiat" as they would to the theologians for a *fatwā*, God's being supreme. As the soul is not a passive agent, but the centre of energy, it directs the body with which it is linked toward an active life which implies making changes when necessary. Present conditions dictate that the Muslims wake up to the challenge, if they do not wish forever to cry and languish.[58] Such imperatives as: "shake off thy ancient slumber..." and "let thy mind new vistas see" summarise nearly what Iqbāl had preached in his *Asrār-i-Khudī*; his assertion that it is the Muslims' "appointed destiny" to forge a new world mirrors not only Qur'ānic doctrine, at least according to modernist exegesis, but also the Communist thesis that man can change his world to fit his desires, or, put in other words, that he is the moulder of his destiny. The transformation of the terrestrial hell into an earthly

56. xiv. 32. The last two lines can be interpreted as permitting the moon voyage and further lunar exploration.

57. xiv. 48.

58. *Vide* his *Shikwah*, p. 29; *BJ*, *et al*.

paradise may well echo Hegelian[59] or "idealist dialectics," which teach the world's development into an ever higher moral plateau until it becomes "a veritable paradise," where God and the saints reign. Iqbāl had read voluminously and was well acquainted with the European schools of thought, comparing them constantly with those that sprouted in the Islamic world. Teaching change for the better, that Allah wills it and that it is not beyond the Muslims' ability, he countered the silent question: how can they conceive of a new world?

> " 'All hidden in our breast yet lies a world,
> That waits the bidding of the Lord to rise.
> . . . a world all unprofaned
> By kings and slaves;
> . . . a world so beauteous. . . ." [60]

The theme in the first line reiterates a thought which he had presented in this verse found in the *Asrār-i-Khudī*: " 'A hundred worlds are hidden in its essence,' " [61] "its" referring to the self. These verses are linked with those in the *Asrār* stating that the ideas and ideals about a new world lie within the self and develop from it as roses do from buds. The second line above: "That waits the bidding of the Lord to rise" has a traditional feeling, for it holds the view that change will occur when God issues His decree about it. Its traditionality lies in its idea that God is the author of all events and things and that the Muslim ought to petition Him for aid. It is *not* to be taken in a predestinarian sense, for it conveys the assurance that God wills change and an invitation to the Mussalman to address Him directly so as to prove Iqbāl right or wrong. The petition initiates action, because it means the will to shed the "ancient slumber" and see "new

59. Also in many sections of his *Reconstruction*; to give some other passages therein, cf. pp. 121 ff. where he cites Ibn Miskawaih (d. 421 H.) as "the first Muslim thinker" to present a doctrine of "biological evolution"; pp. 67 ff., regarding the Ash'arites as postulating "that the creative method of Divine energy is atomic"; p. 133, where he refers to "Al-Beruni's generalising Newton's formula of interpolation from trigonometrical function to any function whatever. . . ."

60. *JN*, p. 56, lines 1178-1180, 1182-1183 and 1185.

61. Compare quotation from the "Muezzin's Call" in *Bāl-i-Jibrīl*.

vistas". The theme presented in the last section means that the Westerns have degraded the East and that, once they are thrown out, there will be neither slaves nor kings, because democracy is the rule for Muslims.

The two haunting questions: What is life? What is man?—asked of Rūmī—are answered:

"I asked
Of him, 'What's life and death? What's good and bad?'
'The urge of self-expression's life,' he said,
'For self-revealing is ingrained in us.
Life seeks to manifest itself, to gain
External evidence to prove its worth.'"[62]

The same theme is found in the "Secrets of the Self"; to repeat: life is the unfolding of the self (ego), expressing or making manifest its innumerable hidden facets, disclosing unknown worlds, whereby the ego gains deeper awareness of and grows through developing its own potential. Thus the work's title, for its author saw life as a pilgrimage of the self which does not end in death, but in salvation. This pilgrimage gives reality to the self. As Iqbāl stated it philosophically: "Thus my real personality is not a thing. It is an act. ... My whole reality lies in my directive attitude."[63] Through the "act" of self-manifestation, or, psychologically stated, by the break-through of inner psychic forces, the ego is permitted to operate "on a specific spatio-temporal order".[64] Something has been said about the soul's relation to space and man. Its immortality lies in its courageous conduct, which is a precondition to its resurrection.

"However, the ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up, and win his resurrection. The resurrection, therefore, ... is the consummation of a life process within the ego."[65]

The use of the third person rather than the neuter in describing the ego's life-burst and immortality, set within the tenet of "struggle," shows that this passage not only has reference to the problems besetting the individual in his mental development and

62. *JN*, p. 11, lines 223-228. 63. *Reconstruction*, p. 103.
64. Ibid., p. 120.
65. Ibid. cf. ibid., p. 119.

spiritual advance. Implied is the allusion to the political situation, which the Muslim must battle. The stress must fall on the word "specific" appearing adjectively to the "spatio-temporal order," namely, the struggle is to be fought *now*, that is in the 1930's,—which involves the particular time element—in India, viz. in a specific area in space.

Revealing is the statement made by Zervan, the old Iranian god of time:

"'. . . I symbolise
Both life and death and resurrection too;
I am the judgment, and both heaven and hell.'"[66]

The juxtaposition of "life and death and resurrection," sewn together by the connective "and" and ending in the adverb "too" for purposes of emphasis is not simply a literary device; it reflects Iqbāl's *philosophical* thesis that life continues in spite of death, which is a meaningless term, as the soul is immortal, so that life and death lead to resurrection; man must not fear death—a theme presented in the *Bāng-i-Darā'*; *politically*, it implies that the Muslim must not be afraid to die in his struggle for liberty and equality, which will reap him the reward of immortality; in religious terms: the judgment is made on the basis of one's conduct, passivity leading to hell: on earth and in after-life, activity leading to terrestrial and *post-mortem* paradise.[67] The reason why Iqbāl chose to put the quotation beginning with: "I symbolise" in the mouth of the god of time was that change occurs in time within which all events manifest themselves, dissolve and re-evolve. He regarded "change and movement" to be indivisible.[68] Again, an attempt to offset statism related to the doctrine of repetitious recurrence, which would not allow of the ego's free development in time and make of time itself a static component in the cosmos. Time itself is created, giving originality to the life of man and of Reality (God).

"To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. In fact all creative

66. *JN*, p. 18, lines 388-390.
67. *Reconstruction*, pp. 111 ff. for the whole question of immortality.
68. Ibid., p. 48.

activity is free activity. Creation is opposed to repetition which is characteristic of mechanical action. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism."[69]
Man being in Life is filled with its "creative activity," even if he is not aware of it, but he cannot forever remain dormant, for that is contrary to the very nature of Life, whose source as that of time—time and life are co-equivalent according to Iqbāl—is Zervān.

Political Ideas. The struggle itself occurs in Time, and is two-dimensional: it is cosmic as it involves the elemental forces; it is terrestrial for it means wars between men.

Iqbāl not only defined the human in philosophical and psychological language, not only religiously as a sinner or a saint, but he also characterised him as a revolutionary.

Rumi's answer to the Question: What is man?

> "'Man is the sword, with which the Lord doeth strike,
> The world is of this sword, the whetting stone.'"[70]

Iqbāl's portrayal of man as "the Lord's sword" must have raised eyebrows. It was not the first time, however, that he used such militant language. That Allah favoured the holy war (*jihād*) in self-defence, which is Qur'ānic doctrine,[71] is the real meaning. Earlier, Iqbāl had prayed:

> "' . . . My lord! within
> My bosom light a fire to burn the dross
> And spare the incense for a while, and then
> The fire should spread and flame the incense too,
> And let its smoke coil all around the world."[72]

The poet's fiery language is due to his burning desire to see his people become free and destroy all effects of the European occupation (defined as "dross").

The die was cast. Action, not lamentation, was necessary (by 1932):

69. Ibid., p. 50.
70. *JN*, pp. 26-27, lines 567-569.
71. Cf. ii. 217; compare ii. 216 and ix. 20. *Jihād* being described as a good act, a sacrifice in Islam's defence, preferable to dying "in disbelief" (ii. 217).
72. *JN*, p. 3, lines 53-57.

" 'In anguish I have lived my life, *now* pray
Reveal the other side of this blue arc.
Unbar the shuttered gates for me and let
Men know what angels dream. . . .' "[73]

Only then would he, Iqbāl, succeed in unlocking "the prison bars". Referring to his personal "strife of faith and disbelief," he meant that he was willing to have faith in the British and the Hindus, but disbelieved their motives, for the debates showed their lack of concern with Islamic India's sentiments. He told his Muslim audiences that they would not profit from political bargaining and unity with Hindu India:

" ' . . . The prison bars
I have unlocked; forlornness I bewail
And union fear. If union be the end
Of love, beware! . . . "[74]

In a free united India, there will be no love, but continuous communal strife and Hindu attempts to squash the Muslims in every domain of life. The conditional form: "If union be the end of love" indicates his mixed feelings: he might have preferred unity, because this means Hindu-Muslim fraternity, respect and even love, *but* the situation, past and present, is not promising in this respect. It is better to separate under the circumstances, permitting Islamic India to pursue its own path free from Hindu restraint. Bemoaning the fact that his standpoint was shared by very few compatriots, he uttered a cry of loneliness:

" 'I know not where I am except that I
Stand far from friends. Who share my sight can see
A raging war in me. . . .
The strife of faith and disbelief
None knows about, . . .
My soul is left alone. None knows the bourne
And none the path, what lights the way except
My song? . . ." [75]

He is *the* Indo-Muslim freedom singer, who, convinced of the truth of his argument, prefers to remain alone and light the way for the many still blind to the realities, viz. it is only when

73. Ibid., p. 3, lines 50-53. Italics ours.
74. Ibid., p. 79, lines 1680-1683.
75. Ibid., p. 79, lines 1671-1677. Cf. also p. 187, lines 3903-3904.

Islamic India wakes up to them that it will enter a "fresher world".[76] The angels sing:

" 'Such glory shall the man of clay
Own far above the angels' light
That with his star of destiny
He'll make the earth like heaven bright." [77]

The allusion to "his star of destiny" is not to be taken in a fatalistic way, but in the sense that "the man of clay" can transform his life because the seeds of change lie within his own being. As they unfold, they crystallise in "particular acts of reference," which are classifiable as the human experience.

> [These] "particular acts of reference . . . possess a specific being of their own. They constitute . . . 'a new world and not merely new features in an old world.' "[78]

Such statements form part of what Iqbāl called "religious psychology," because the "new world" to which he points in his *Lectures* and in his *Jāvīd Nāmah* lies dormant within the ego. The formulation of his thought in the just-cited verses of the "Pilgrimage of Eternity" may mislead the reader into thinking that the author is presenting predestinarian doctrine and thus contradicts himself. This is far from the truth, because the thesis that the human is destined to unfold his potential which is waiting to be realised is far from either fatalism, whereby an individual murmurs "It is God's will" and remains inert, or predestinarianism with its idea that God has determined a particular situation in advance and it is He, and not man, who will change it if He so wills and decrees it. In juxtaposition to these attitudes which the Indian Mussalman had not shed fully by the 1930's, the phrase: "Such glory shall the man of clay own far above the angels' light" gains in depth apart from its beautiful tone. He will not have "such glory" if he sits and waits for Allah to take the initiative. He even has to go to Allah and tell him that he, that is the Indian Muslim, wants to build a new world—then the Lord will

76. Ibid., p. 79, line 1686.

77. Ibid., p. 8, lines 161-164. The "star of destiny" may refer to the morning star which brightens the heavens.

78. *Reconstruction*, p. 101.

help him. What a difference between this and the more traditional approach! When becoming a builder of his new world, man's glory will be greater than "the angels' light"; no clearer, brighter light exists! This glory will earn him eternity: "This handful of our dust has attained Heaven," symbolising his "final triumph".[79]

Ideological Aspects.—At one time:

"'The east beheld the Lord but missed the world,
The west was in the world engrossed and ran
Away from God. . . .'"[80]

In his own unique way the poet brushes the distinction between the spiritually-oriented East and the materialistically-inclined West. The first sentence is important, because it conveys his view that it is not necessary to disclaim the importance of the temporal and the risk of secularism remains small, for adherence to Islam is possible amidst worldly activities. The West was and for Iqbāl remained flooded with false doctrines of nation-worship,[81] imperialism, socialism and democracy:

"'Alas for the democracy of the West,
This doomsday trumpets man's eternal death.'"[82]

There was no democracy in India, where the imperialists ruled and fattened themselves,[83] spreading all kinds of isms, including Communism and "Socialism [which] bedimmed the flame of faith."[84] They are all a "living sham"—it appears as a personality[85]—which the West has sown and with which it has wrecked the East by deadening its spirituality.[86]

"'. . . I too
Have been to Europe and to Persia,

79. *JN*, p. 155, as quoted by Javid, op. cit., p. 70, with the latter's comment.

80. Ibid., p. 27, lines 570-572.

81. Ibid, p. 50, lines 1058-1060.

82. Ibid., p. 62, lines 1303-1304.

83. Ibid., p. 53, line 1112; cf. p. 63, lines 1332-1336, and p. 109, lines 2292-2296.

84. Ibid., p. 50, line 1057; pp. 52 ff. for lines 1099 ff.

85. Ibid., pp. 50 ff.

86. Ibid., p. 50, lines 1055-1056, for instance.

The valleys of the Ganges and the Nile,
America and China and Japan' " [87]

says the Martian astronomer, alias Iqbāl, journeying "days and nights. . . through both sea and land" in search of spiritual wealth. During these travels, he gained insight into man and his world:

" 'I know man's riots and his dinful strife
Although he is oblivious of our work.' " [88]

By "our work" is meant the rebuilding of man's world, meaning Islamic India, freed from "these foreigners, all dumb," [89] that is, ignorant of God and of Islam's spirit and culture. Iqbāl alludes to communalism, dissent and to his co-religionists' ignorance of their duties. But Ghālib promises:

" 'We'll turn the sun again
Unto the eastern sky. . . .' " [90]

Can the promise be put more poetically?

A future as beauteous as Nature beckons:

" 'Look at the vale, look at her snowy hills,
. . . Her vernal seasons bring a wave,
A leaping flood of colour; from her stones
Drop diamonds. Like dancing cotton thrashed
Appear the fragments of her dainty clouds.
The hill, the river and the sunset—there
I saw the face of God unveiled. . . .' " [91]

No greater verse than this last one exists in all of the world's poetry!

The *Jāvīd Nāmah's* principal theme, as stated, is the Muslims' "pilgrimage" toward self-hood (*khudī*) through self-awakening (*buddhī*), which is a psychological development; through action, containing the themes of initiative, physical as well as mental exertion, courage in beginning the difficult, but not impossible, uphill climb, and facing the battle for freedom—a political motif; through acceptance of the validity of exertion in the

87. Ibid., p 94, lines 1991-1996.
88. Ibid., p. 94, lines 1998-1999.
89. Ibid., p. 46, lines 964.
90. Ibid, p. 109, lines 2302-2303.
91. Ibid., p. 149, lines 3100-3107.

secular arena, which is not contrary to Islam, but is taught by it, and which gains immortality for the activists—a socio-religious idea; Islam's supremacy over the Christian West with its erroneous teachings of socialism, communism, democracy, materialism—an ideological thesis; and the Muslims' uncompromising loyalty to their own faith and culture in spite of Western influences —a religious tenet. It teaches reverence for civilisation: " 'On man's respect is civilisation based.' "[92] This line contains another stab at the British who lacked such respect for their subjects' religious and cultural traditions. The themes of activity, love, democracy, brotherhood, are not new. Neither is its revolutionary teaching nor its encouragement that action produces success, which gave the work a prophetic feeling. Iqbāl's predictions that unity would fail and that initiative would usher in a "new world" for his people came true. His insistence that the Qur'ān teaches activism, which he considers part of "true religion," explains his attacks on the Muslim religious leadership:

> " 'True religion has sunk lower than irreligiousness,
> For the *mulla*, though religious, is branding people as faithless.
> The religion of the *kafir* consists in planning for earnest endeavour,
> The religion of the *mulla* is creating trouble in the name of God.' "[93]

Apart from the general accusation of the *mullās* or village "clerics" for keeping the people in ignorance and preaching false doctrine by chanting: "It is Allah's will," these stanzas are autobiographical. They indicate the *mullās'* attitude toward Iqbāl, whom they branded as an unbeliever (*kāfir*) leading his people astray by indoctrinating them with the notions of "earnest endeavour," implying initiative, activism, which they consider contrary to the teachings found in the Qur'ān, the Prophet's and the *Millat's sunnah*, Muḥammad's *ḥadīths*, the edicts reached by *ijmā'*, all of which coagulated in the *fiqh* and forming the path (*ṭarīq*) tread by the Islamic world since its inception. Iqbāl's wish to break the *mullās'* authoritarian hold, which permits his

92. Ibid., p. 58, line 1224.

93. Ibid., p. 84, as quoted by Javid in op. cit., p. 20.

references to "jail," the unlocking of "prison-bars," etc., to be taken in a double sense,[94] did not make him popular among them and it also may explain why it was so difficult to convince the masses, who mostly were agrarian and lived in the villages, that they must assume a different attitude to life (involved in Iqbāl's doctrine of self-awareness). Other compositions of his, too, contain biographical references, but none echo his anger, his feelings of frustration and loneliness as strongly as does the *Jāvīd Nāmah*, as also in this stanza:

"'and ever in a caravan
Alone live thou. . . .'"[95]

Despite the presence in Iqbāl's earlier writings of most of the ideas found in his "Pilgrimage to Eternity," the way in which they are expressed and interlaced is fresh. Its complexity is beguiling, because they are intertwined in the most facile manner. The very cast of the *Jāvīd Nāmah*, with its dramatic presentation of man struggling against and winning over the satanic forces within him and in the cosmos is novel. Such verses as: "'The fountains sprayed their pearls"[96] and other passages painting Nature's beauty mirror their author's enrapture and show that the work's serious mood is lightened with lyricism. The *Jāvīd Nāmah* contains lines that are the epitome of poetic expression. It is no wonder, therefore, that by its substance and its originality the "Pilgrimage to Eternity" is regarded as Dr Iqbāl's greatest poetic composition.[97] The following lines at once are another[98] snub at the British and all enemies of Islam and sums up their author's personal tenet:

"'Love is the code and law for life,
The essence of culture is religion and religion is Love.'"[99]

The *Jāvīd Nāmah* was followed by the *Musāfir* (1934), written in Persian, and the Urdu *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* (1935). They do not have

94. That is, the Muslims are prisoners of the British and the *Mullā*.
95. *JN*, p 187, lines 3905-06.
96. Ibid., p. 202 as cited by Javid, in op. cit., p. 162.
97. Javid op, cit., p. 23, who calls it "Iqbāl's *magnum opus*".
98. *Vide ZA*, p. 60; *BD*, p. 259.
99. *JN*, p. 129, as cited by Javid, in op. cit., p. 74.

the same calibre as his masterpiece. The second being the better of the two, it will be given some attention below.

Bāl-i-Jibrīl or "Gabriel's Wing".[100] This work consists of nine Urdu poems, each composed in a different verse and style. It contains some important political and biographical references. Iqbāl, himself, appears in this composition as the Disciple who asks diverse questions from the Master, that is Rūmī, whom he so greatly admired and mentioned in most of his compositions :

> " ' Iqbal you are also in this caravan of enthusiasts
> The leader of which enthusiastic caravan is verily Rumi.' "[101]

The story briefly told is as follows. Adam, created out of clary,[102] weak but good,[103] has the spark of greatness in him. Evicted from Paradise, because Gabriel tells Satan

> " ' By refusing to obey you have fallen down,' "[104]

he (Adam) wanders through the earth, calling to Allah :

> " ' You only cry for ever *God is great* and *God is great !*' "[105]

His pain and grief are unbearable :

Gabriel

> " ' Comrade of ancient days ! how fare the world of sight and sound ? ' "

Satan

> " ' In fire and rage and grief and pain and hope and longing drowned.' "[106]

Gabriel addresses Satan as "comrade" because God created Iblīs who chose to disobey Allah and hence was evicted from

100. *Vide* V.G. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal* (Bombay : 1951, Kutub Publishers, Ltd.) : "Part II, Gabriel's Wing, Poems from Bal-i-Jibril (Jabril)," pp. 51 ff. This English translation has been used here as also some verses cited by S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore : 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf).

101. *BJ*, p. 200 ; Vahid, op. cit., p. 85.

102. xv. 26, 28 ; vi. 2, *et al.*

103. iv. 28.

104. *BJ*, p. 193 ; Vahid, p. 25. (Cf. xv. 31 ff.)

105. *BJ*, p. 193 ; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 83.

106. *BJ*, p. 192 ; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 82.

Paradise. Gabriel and Satan here refer at once to two celestial beings mentioned in the Qur'ān[107] and respectively to the angelic and the demonic nature in man. The reference to Satan's —also to read Adam's—fall due to his disobeying Allah's decrees also agrees with the Qur'ānic teaching[108] that He gave him and man the choice between submitting to or rejecting them, and they thereby accepted the consequences of their own decisions. The freedom to decide one's own fate thus was guaranteed *versus* predestinarianism.[109] The parallelism between Satan's and Adam's destiny is clear : both were created, both refused to obey their Creator, and both were expelled respectively from the heavenly and terrestrial Pleasure Garden. Satan begged for and received some respite until Resurrection Day[110] by virtue of his belonging to the immortal realm. Man, "from mud moulded into shape,"[111] received none. His, that is, the Muslim's, disobedience for Iqbāl consists in not acting as Allah's vicegerent.[112] He is oblivious of "the world of sight and sound" despite its being his habitation. The parallelism between the human and Gabriel is aptly put, for the angels live far removed from the scene of activity. The repetition of "and" in Satan's above-quoted statement : "In fire and rage and . . . longing drowned" adds stress to the long list of their woes, which began long ago. Says

Gabriel

> " ' Our high estate is humbled by your ancient mutiny,
> What credit have the angels now in the sight of the Most High? ' "[113]

That "ancient mutiny," of course, refers to 1857. "Our high estate" has a double meaning : the Englishman's angelic or active nature and high status as India's conquerors and rulers ; the

107. xv 28 ff. for references to the angels and Satan ; ii. 97-98 for references to Gabriel and Michael ; ii. 34 for Iblīs ; and many other Qur'ānic verses.

108. ii. 38, 39 ; iv. 69 *et al.*

109. This theme, connected with his doctrine of activism, also runs through his works.

110. xv. 36, 37. 111. xv. 33. 112. ii. 30, for instance.

113. *BJ*, p. 193 ; Kiernan, op. cit , p. 83.

fallen angels also refer doubly to : the Muslims who were evicted from Paradise, fell under British rule, and ever since they remained passive and in despair. Consequently having lost face before Deity, how can they regain His favour ? Satan symbolising dynamism answers this question :

> " 'My rebel spirit has filled Man's pinch of dust with fierce ambition,
> The warp and woof of Mind and Reason are woven of my sedition.' "[114]

It is time that the satanic overpowers the angelic nature in India's Muslims in order to dampen their "rage and grief and pain" and rekindle their hope's smouldering ashes, and for ever humble the British.

Having made their prison with their "own hands," they must bear the brunt of the conflict if they wish to wrench themselves free. Says Satan :

> " 'Thou seest the conflict of good and evil from the shore.
> Who is facing the buffets of the storm ? Thou or I ? ' "[115]

Lack of faith in God and in self has made doves of those who, "embittered by their fate," grieve but refuse to give in to their "urge of self-expression". Instead of struggling "to gather himself up, and win his resurrection," of asking Allah for His *fatwā* permitting him to acknowledge the worth of this earthly life, of being convinced that action is the Divine edict to be obeyed by anyone calling himself a Muslim, he follows the religion of the *mullā* rather than that of the *kāfir*. The repetition of worn-out formulas will not alleviate the pain and grief :

> " 'Truth swallowed in gibberish, ritual maze
> Engulfing the Creed ; the preacher's phrase
> May charm the ear, but all's blank, bare
> Of all Love's fervour . . . ' "[116]

114. *BJ*, p. 193 ; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 53 Cf. translation in Vahid, op cit , p. 68 : "My temptations form the warp and woof of reason and intellect " Compare Iqbāl's statement in *BD*, p. 28, on intellect serving as a guide.

115. *BJ*, p. 193 ; Vahid, op. cit., p. 25.

116. *BJ*, pp. 167-68 ; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 76.

Love causes war and peace in the world; it is the matrix of the ego's "unknown possibilities," of life as of death. In the name of love, the self must "make assault and conquer firmaments". If chanting and moaning will not do it, neither will fastings:

> "'No fastings of Mahatmas break the Brahmins' spell; if he
> Who talked with Heaven had held no rod, vain had his words resounded!'"[117]

The first line obviously refers to Mahatma Gandhi's attempts to break the British power through his fasts by which he hoped for and gained support from the Hindu masses. Iqbāl is saying that Gandhi's fasts will not help the Muslims who, in a united India, will remain under the Hindus' power ("spell"). The second line has a double meaning. It first concerns the biblical account of Aaron whose rod effected such miracles that the spellbound Egyptians let the Israelites go forth from Egypt.[118] It implies that Iqbal, after communing with God in true prophetic fashion, used his "rod," e.g. his poetry, as an instrument with which to awaken his people. He calls upon the "firebrand," that is the Muslim, to "cry a new revolution over the earth".[119] The time is ripe for the landlord's eviction:

> "'Loudly is tinkling the bell: up! for the caravan goes;
> Woe to all travellers who sit, waiting their camels, and doze!'"

The beauty of this passage is that it is put so simply and in analogy with an actual life-form which his audiences easily could understand. Again, the symbol of the caravan for life, the travellers meaning at once mankind on their terrestrial pilgrimage and the Muslims on their journey toward salvation. Their trip puts them to the test, which gives them their worth:

117. *BJ, Ghazal* No. 16; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 35.

118. Exodus, ch. 7, where Aaron appears as Moses's brother and wields the rod. Cf. Qur'ān, vi. 84, where Aaron is mentioned together with Moses; xx. 30, where Aaron is called Moses's brother; xx. 45, where they address God jointly; xx. 69 referring to the wonders wrought by Aaron's rod; *et al.* (*vide ZA*, p. 79).

119. Kiernan, op. cit., p. 87.

"'And slight is his mark or his name on this earth
Who puts not to trial his innermost worth!

On the soil of your clay cast the seed of the heart;
From that seed the tomorrow's great harvest shall
start.'"[120]

Fantastic lines giving a revolutionary message in farmer's language. The conflict itself mirrors a yearning for self-hood:

"'All creatures yearn for Self-hood freed.
To bloom is every atom's greed!'"[121]

Can it be put more lyrically? The mood turns philosophical:

"'... That you should come
To know your own Self, is the sum
And end of Time's great pendulum
That swings above us....'"[122]

Here we have the theme which is basic to Iqbāl's *Asrār-i-Khudī*, and which was eleborated in his *Reconstruction*, namely, self-awareness is dormant in the Indo-Muslim soul; it will bud in time in which all cosmic phenomena manifest themselves. Implied in these verses is the teleological[123] doctrine according to which creation having begun at a specific moment in history moves forward time- and salvation-wise. The self or ego being man's inner principle, it forms part of all-encompassing Life and Time and, therefore, cannot but move toward the suprasensible sphere which Islamic teleology[124] asserts is the natural direction

120. *BJ*, p. 204; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 86: "To the Punjab Peasant".

121. *BJ*, p. 63. Another translation of this verse given by Kiernan, op. cit., p. 33:

"Each atom pants for glory: greed
Of self-fruition earth's whole creed!"

122. *BJ*, p. 166; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 80. Poem entitled "To the *Sāqi*". Originally the *Sāqī* was the Arabs' cup-bearer and, among the Persians, the female entertainer (cf. the geisha's role in Japan serving wine). Among the Ṣūfī mystics the *Sāqi* symbolises Allah or a saint who fills "the spiritual cup". (Cf. Kiernan, op. cit.)

123. Gr. *telos*: "plan," "design," "purpose"; *logos* or "structure," "root"; one of Aristotle's principles.

124. Islamic and Greek teleology are distinct, because the ancient Greeks, unlike the Muslims, subscribed to eternity of the cosmos.

of the universe, culminating in Judgment Day. Iqbāl's thesis that life is progressive is contrary to Eastern cyclical doctrine with its repetitive conception. Iqbāl asserted:

> "Creation is opposed to repetition which is a characteristic of mechanical action. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism. . . . Life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indetermination, and thus falls outside the domain of necessity."[125]

The non-mechanistic character of life, derived from the non-repetitive nature of creation, permits emphasis on the continuing freshness of organic life and on the development of the psyche so that it may reach toward the suprasensible sphere. This development occurs in time, which Iqbāl regarded as "a kind of flow,"[126] "serial in character,"[127] and "divisible into past, present, and future".[128] It is only when "we reach Divine time" that we enter "time which is absolutely free from the quality of passage, and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence, and change. It is above eternity; it has neither beginning nor end."[129] The psyche's development is possible in terrestrial time, which allows for movement. Its inner aim is to reach toward freedom on earth and beyond. When it attains awareness, it recognises that freedom is the necessary condition for its fulfilment. It sees what it really is:

> "'What but a sword that breath's tide? what the Self
> but that sword's keen edge . . .'"[130]

Philosophy has given way to militancy. The justification for the change in mood is not intellectual, but political. Now life is not characterised as a peaceful evolution, but as a bloody revolution:

> "'That is no dawn on the Western skyline—it is a
> blood-bath, it is their blood!
> Today and yesterday are now pale legend; await to-
> morrow's soon-pouring flood.'"[131]

125. *Reconstruction*, p. 50; cf. also p. 115.

126. Ibid., p. 74. 127. Ibid., p. 75.

128. Ibid. 129. Ibid.

130. *BJ*, p. 172; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 79. It, too, forms part of the poem entitled: "To the *Sāqi*". A similar description in *JN*, pp. 26-27.

131. *BJ*; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 81.

The prediction—which turned out to be correct—is that Europe's supremacy in the East shall end soon. The Western ebb may be invisible to most, but not to Iqbāl who sees it written in India's Tablets of Destiny:

> "'Destiny's curtain as yet muffles the world to be,
> But to these eyes . . . unveiled.
> Were I to draw this veil, bare the face of my thoughts,
> Europe could not endure it, the burning heat of my songs.
> Death, not life, is the life no revolutions assail:
> Strife and revolt are the air breathed by the nations' souls.'"[132]

The victory, God's "day of wrath," is assured. This is the truth unveiled to Iqbāl. The more reason for speaking forth:

> "'. . . in God-filled frenzy I
> Declare what truth I see: no simpleton
> For priests, nor spawned among this age's fry.
> My folk forswear me, the strangers do not love me—
> A true Believer. . . .'"[133]

As a true prophet,[134] Iqbāl cannot accept the *mullās*' falsifications, causing them to reject him as "a true believer"; hence his isolation which is also due to the generation gap. He is angry at himself and others for not forcing him to remain silent:

> "'Why did none hush this proud thing Iqbāl,
> Whose tongue the Almighty's presence could not tie!'"[135]

God willed him to speak forth the truth, the more so because Iqbāl saw the injustices done to his people:

> "'Being present myself, my impetuous tongue
> I could not to silence resign. . . '"[136]

132. *BJ*, p. 136; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 71. Closing portion of the long poem: "The Mosque in Cordova". (Cf. Vahid, op. cit., pp. 10-11, giving M. Hadi Hussain's translation.)

133. *BJ*, p. 34; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 55. Quotation taken from the 9th *Ghazal* (pp. 54-55 in Kiernan). For "simpleton" Kiernan substituted the word "fool".

134. *BJ*, pp. 102-03, *et al.*

135. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 55. Quotation from the 9th *Ghazal*.

136. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 73.

He speaks out because he loves those amidst whom he was born and reared:

> "'My comrades thought my songs were of Spring's kindling—
> How should they know what in Love's music's told?'"[137]

The first line refers to his audience's preference for poetry devoid of any serious message. The second verse shows that they are still deaf to his poetry's real meaning and intent. He despairs of ever reaching them:

> "'Though I have not the rhetorician's art,
> May be this word of mine will reach your heart.'"[138]

His anguish, accentuated by the words "may be," is immense:

> "'This midnight grief which bows my head,
> Solitary or before men shed. . . .'"[130]

And yet, he will keep his head high:

> "'In fetters free, in penury head high—
> Betide what may, my chainless heart rejoices;
> Who could the gay bud's laughter petrify?'"[140]

His joy springs from the inability of the British, despite their having honoured him with Knighthood and having invited him to the London conferences, to stiffe his soul and his voice. It is born from his inner sense of freedom so that he no longer needs to "be silent, like a bud," but can speak out fearlessly, and from the certainty of his predictions. It stems from his undying confidence in the innate abilities of his people:

> "'Closed in that dust a radiance lies hid, before whose blade
> Shall all the sky's fixed tenures,
> And all its orbits, fade.'"[141]

He rejoices therein and in the knowledge that the Mussalmans

137. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 53. Quotation from 6th *Ghazal*.
138. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 84.
139. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 77. Quotation from *JN*, p. 79.
140. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 55. Quotation from the 7th *Ghazal*.
141. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 84. Spoken by the Moon in "The Muezzin's Call".

will "triumph over the forces of disintegration."[142] Their victory shall prove Iqbāl right:

> " 'The angels went and told the Almighty that Iqbal
> Is daring and is trying to bedeck Nature;
> He has taught the angels the yearning zeal of man,
> And he is teaching Man ways divine.' "[143]

Our modern Prometheus[144] warned his people:

> " 'Don't regard my confused singing as mere poetry,
> I happen to know the secrets of the wine-shop.' "[145]

Iqbāl's sarcastic allusion to "my confused singing" echoes the Prophet Muḥammad's answer when the Arabs before their conversion to Islam accused him of being mad.[146] The second verse stresses anew its author's deeper insight into political realities than had by most of his Indo-Muslim contemporaries. The "wine-shop" stands for life fermenting with creative ability, whose secrets have been unveiled to Iqbāl.[147] They will become bared in due time to the many. Their surge toward freedom will constitute their great redemptive act vindicating themselves before man and God. Even Iblīs will be forced to prostrate himself before "mortal dust". When the Muslims have turned "the sun again unto the eastern sky," "the day of capitalism is done".[148] They must give up Western mores and ideas and turn to their own heritage:

> " 'Why must they see in Europe their fine neighbour
> They whom the stars from nearer skies protect.' "[149]

By having forged a new world, and being loyal to Islam, they become the bearers of the Divine message to mankind: " 'You are the sole truth of this world. . . .' "[150]

The *Bāl-i-Jibrī* has a compassionate strain despite some

142. *Reconstruction*, p. 123.

143. *BJ*, pp. 102-03, cited by Vahid, op. cit., p. 30.

144. Prometheus, according to Greek legend, stole fire from Heaven and gave it to mankind.

145. *BJ*, p. 76; Vahid, op. cit., p. 29.

146. *Vide* vii. 184, for example.

147. Cf. *JN*, p. 159.

148. *BJ*; Kiernan, op. cit., p. 76.

149. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 66. Quotation from *Ghazal* No. 31, the last of that series.

150. *BJ*; Kiernan, p. 63. Quotation from *Ghazal* No. 23.

outspoken criticisms of the Muslims. It together with the *Jāvīd Nāmah* is Iqbāl's most revolutionary work. They beat the war drum and cry for the Europeans' blood. "Gabriel's Wing" is composed after the fashion of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained.*[151] Iqbāl since long had desired to write something similarly:

> "'For a long time I have been yearning to write in the manner of Milton and the time for that seems to be fast approaching, because in these days there is hardly a moment when I am not thinking seriously of this. I have been nurturing this wish for the past five or six years, but the creative pangs have never been so acute as now.'"[152]

The *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* realised his dream nurtured since his youth It may be considered a conclusion to his *Jāvīd Nāmah* by foreseeing the Muslims' resurrection. Kiernan typified it as "less lyrical than didactic,"[153] which is unfair. The whole work has a lyrical feeling, as the cited portions show. Another beautiful passage follows:

> "'The sun is weaving with golden thread
> A mantle of light about the earth's head;
> Creation hushed in ecstasy,
> As in the presence of the Most High.'"[154]

With the *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* published, the greater part of Iqbāl's life lay behind him. He was tired and longing for rest:

> "'I have drunk deep of Eastern and Western lore,
> But my soul is still yearning for peace.'"[155]

He did not feel well:

> "'Treatment by quacks only makes you more ill,
> Come to the mother, who will nurse you to health.'"[156]

151. John Milton (1608-1674), an English poet. *Paradise Lost* (published in 1567) and *Paradise Regained* (1671) are his best known works.

152. Letter dated 1903, reproduced by Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim* (Bombay: 1951, Orient Longmans, Ltd)., p. 41.

153. Kiernan, op. cit., p. 20.

154. Ibid., p. 88, quoting from *BJ*.

155 *BJ*, p. 181, quoted by Vahid, op. cit., p. 88. Iqbāl here is addressing Rūmī.

156. *BJ*, p. 182, quoted by Vahid, op. cit, p. 88. Rūmī is answering Iqbāl. He suffered from gout asthma, catarrh, etc. He consulted regularly a physician from Bhopal called Dr 'Abdul Bāsiṭ in whom he apparently had confidence.

No doctor apparently could prescribe the right cure for him; the "mother," symbolising here Mother Earth, alone could restore his health and give him peace. Did he wish for death? Did he sense that his end was near? If he did, he nevertheless continued writing and kept up his interest in politics, reflected by his somewhat later letter (dated Lahore, 21 June 1936) addressed to J. Nehru, wherein he partly wrote:

" 'I was extremely sorry to miss the opportunity of meeting you in Lahore. I was very ill in those days and could not leave my room. For the last two years I have been living a life practically of retirement on account of continued illness. Do let me know when you come to the Punjab next. Did you receive my letter regarding your proposed union for Civil Liberty? As you do not acknowledge it in your letter I fear it never reached you.' "[157]

Iqbāl had witnessed during the first half of the 1930's the failure of the second Non-Co-operation Movement, called off by Gandhi (on 7 April 1934); the collapse of another British-Indian attempt at reaching a political consensus; the imprisonment of innumerable high-level and less-known Indians; labour unrest and strikes; continued communal tension; the publication (on 12 February 1934) of and Indian discontent with the Government of India Act; Jinnāḥ's resettlement in his native lands; the birth of India's Socialist Party (May 1934); the Government ban on Congress organisations lifted in most provinces by 1934; etc. Fascism had risen in Italy which had fallen under Benito Mussolini's leadership (in 1922) who remained in power throughour the 1930's.[158] Iqbāl, himself, had a private conversation with

157. Letter No. 146 in *A Bunch of Old Letters Written Mostly to Jawahar Lal Nehru and Some Written by Him* (London : 1958, Asia publishing House), pp. 187-88; part quoted from p. 188 This letter's main bulk relates to the Ahmadis, Indian Muslim sect, founded in the late nineteenth century. Among their tenets is that revelation did not end with Muḥammad the Prophet, which is contrary to Qur'ānic doctrine (xiii, 40) See Appendix for a full copy of this letter.

158. Mussolini had formed a Fascist-Nationalist Cabinet on 13 October 1922

Il Duce (in 1932),[159] taking the occasion to visit him while in Europe for the ill-fated Round-Table Conferences. At the time, he was very impressed with "The Leader," whom he regarded as a fine example of the self who in his struggle with surrounding forces won over them. Although he always preferred strong to weak men, he erased his good image of the Italian ruler when the hideous nature of his government unfolded itself. Herr Hitler[160] was making his political debut in Germany.

1935-1938: Final Years

I. *The Political Situation*

Iqbāl now was sixty-one years old. The greater part of his life lay behind him. His colleagues, Sir Muḥammad Shafī' and Sir S. 'Alī Imām, respectively labelled "liberal" and "extremist," and, on the Hindu side, the "extremist" B.C. Pal had died (in the same year, 1932), while the Hindu liberal T.B. Sapru would survive him. Iqbāl already had felt for some time his estrangement from the younger generation, which creates a feeling of loneliness deepened by the loss of many of his contemporaries. He also had stated India's condition:

"'I see all India restless; it is time
That thou reveal the secret truth divine.'"[161]

That truth, of course, was that negotiations with the British would fail in gaining freedom for its people, causing them to be restless. The "secret truth divine," still hidden to them in the 1930's, meant that they must wrench themselves free by force in the face of the abject results of their diplomatic efforts. The militant mood found in many of Dr Iqbāl's works was born from his conviction that there was no other path but that "revealed" to him and transmitted to the Indians. The year 1935 was

159. Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (London: 1946, Victor Gollancz), p. 115. *Vide* poem on Mussolini in Iqbāl's *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm*, p. 151, under sub-section: "Politics in East and West".

160. He visited Mussolini on 14-15 June 1934; their first impression on each other was negative.

161. *JN*, p. 159, lines 3321-22.

ominous for India and the world. The rumblings of the Second World War (1939-1945) could be heard. Hitler's Nazis under Konrad Henlein had become the most powerful political party in Germany by May 1935.[162] His armies in a few years would burst forth from their "Fatherland" to kill, burn and conquer. Italy invaded Abyssinia (on 3 October 1935), formally annexing King Haile Selassie's realm (on 9 May 1936). Iqbāl meanwhile had moved from his rented place at 34 McLeod Road to his own house on Mayo Road. Many things happened at home during the few years left to him.

The Congress Party at its April 1936 annual gathering elected J. Nehru as India's President, which news reached him while he was in London.[163] He presided over a land divided further politically by the 1932 Communal Award, granting the Depressed Classes, the Anglo-Indians, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and others, separate representation in the provincial legislatures. It increased Hindus-Muslim tension,[164] itself derived from the fact that Hinduism, far more ancient than Islam:

"has struck its mighty roots deep and wide, and has thrust its fibres into every nook and cranny of the life of the people.

"It would be difficult to conceive two great communities living side by side in one land, yet more absolutely conflicting in their faith, their history, their social structure and their attitudes than are the Moslem and the Hindu." [165]

The following years would show that if they agreed with each other on evicting the British, they could not come to terms on ruling Hind as Indians rather than as Muslims and Hindus. The Indian Muslim was faced with the question: " 'Where shall be my patriotism—my final loyalty?' " His answer was: "Islam".

162. *Vide* Richard Hanser, *PUTSCH* (Peter H. Wyden, Inc., 1970).

163. J. Nehru's wife Kamala was sick and had gone to Europe in May 1935 for treatment; she died on 28 February 1936 during her second stay in Europe. It occasioned Nehru's intermittent release from jail, where he had written his *Autobiography* between June 1934 and February 1935.

164. Moraes, op. cit., p. 236. According to Moraes, Nehru felt deep anger at being unable to control and improve the situation.

165. Basil Matthews, *Young Islam on Trek, A Study in the Clash of Civilizations* (London: 1926, Edingurgh House Press), p. 123.

His reply combined the religious with the political; hence, Iqbāl's insistence that these two domains are one in Islamic ideology. Ergo, the dictum: "'Be a Moslem before you are an Indian.'"[166] Fearful that in a free India the balance of power would be held by the Hindus who were opposed to Muslim political predominance, India faced a hideous impasse. Iqbāl had pointed out this factual situation some decades earlier and would continue to pound on it until the very end of his life.[167] Observing the scene from near by, he knew it to remain unchanged. Muslims asked themselves the question: What then can we do under these circumstances? Iqbāl gave a steadfast answer: Be loyal to Islam and fight for your rights. It underlies his "Complaint," his trilogy, and his later works. There now remained only a semblance of Hindu-Muslim unity which in fact had crumbled in the 1920's. The freedom drive ultimately was a dualistic movement. Unable to suppress the *Shuddhi* and *Tanẓīm* pulls,[168] the political orientation for Indian Islam increasingly pointed to a separation from Hind. It had been Iqbāl's political platform for a long time. He saw it as the only way to feed the hungry "heart of Indian Islam," to stop its despair and to give a meaningful direction to the Indian Mussalmans' restlessness.[169]

"The Muslim has begun to feel," wrote Dr Iqbāl in his 28 May 1937 letter to Jinnāḥ, "that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign[170] rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come." Iqbāl not only reiterated in one paragraph the nineteenth-century dispute aired in particular between Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khan and W.W. Hunter,

166. Ibid., p. 125, for this and other quotations in this section.

167. As early as 1909 and as late as 1937, a year before his death.

168 The effect of the *Shuddhi* movement was very noticeable in the economic and political arenas.

169. Phraseology borrowed from Matthews, op cit., p. 142.

170. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore: 1950, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 17. For its full text, see ibid., pp. 16-20, and for another section in it covering Muslim India's destiny.

but retained the view that British communalist policy had jeopardised Islamic India.[171] Hence they had to go. Another dictate was that Islamic India also must become independent from Hindu India.

That the yearning for freedom is universal is stated in the beautiful lines found in his *Bāl-i-Jibrīl*, which may be repeated here :

" ' All creatures yearn for Selfhood freed.
To bloom is every atom's greed ! ' "[172]

It burned within the Muslim soul and it was Iqbāl's voice that answered its "greed" to bloom while it still lay in darkness. That is why he often said that the Muslim self lay dormant like a seed ready to ripen. It only needed the right climate. That climate appeared when it became aware that none would help and that its freedom would be an illusion in a sovereign Hindu India. Iqbāl's still was a minority voice —Jinnāḥ had not yet been won over fully ; by 1935, he regarded the idea of a separate Indo Muslim State "crazy".

If the communal question was not solved by mid 1930's, neither was the issue relating to India's Constitution.

Provincial autonomy with a federal system had been prescribed under the 1935 Act and was to take effect in a year and a half (on 1 April 1937). Yet the freedom of the elected Chief Provincial Ministers would continue to be muffled by the Crown-appointed Governors, while the Governor-General held the same supreme power at the Centre. For these and other reasons, e.g. the unfair proportion of seats given to the States in spite of their comprising but 25% of India's population, there was great opposition to the Act.[173] Ergo, federalism which was

171. Cf. L. S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* (Lahore : 1970, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), Ch. I, particularly pp. 25 ff for the Aḥmad Khān-Hunter exchange, Sir Sayyid refuting the British charge that Indian Muslims were guilty of sedition and accusing them of illegally causing the Indo-Muslim decay. Cf. ibid., p. 28.

172. Cf *JN*, lines 1178 ff., 223 ff.

173. They received 104 out of 260 or two-fifths of the seats in the Council of State and 125 out of 375 or one-third in the lower Assembly (Moraes, op. cit., p. 254).

opposed by Iqbāl and Jinnāḥ because it would undermine autonomy in the Muslim provinces and by them and Nehru and others because it meant British imposition, never became operative.[174] The older bicameral structure was retained. Provincial autonomy—apart from sovereignty—remained the key political issue between 1935 and 1940, cropping up again after the end of the Second World War in 1945.[175]

Jinnāḥ by1936 was busy reorganising the All-India Muslim League which convened under Sir Wazīr Ḥasan's presidency at Bombay in April of that year. Those present decided to revive it, strengthen it in the provinces, and on its behalf contest the elections.

"A central election board with provincial branches was set up to take in hand arrangements for fighting the provincial elections under the Government of India Act of 1935. Jinnah toured the country to canvass support for the League candidates, but his efforts were only partially successful. IN THE PUNJAB, HE HAD THE CONSTANT SUPPORT OF IQBAL, but could not come to an agreement with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, the Unionist leader and League fared very badly in that 'key' province. Experience in Bengal was similar. . . ."[176]

Reference is to the 1937 elections which showed that, despite Iqbāl's support, Congress goodwill, because Jinnāḥ's Independent Party had supported this Hindu organisation, and the active assistance of the Jamī'at-u'l-'Ulamā', Jinnāḥ could not win "against firmly entrenched provincial parties."[177] That Congress had been losing strength is clear from the Congress Working Committee's Resignation Letter, dated Wardha, 29 June 1936, addressed to J. Nehru and signed by Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalacharia, J.B. Kripalani and other members.[178] They gave the following reason for their action :

"We are of opinion that through your speeches and those

174. Jinnāḥ continued to demand "home-rule" for India as a whole.

175. India was forced to aid Great Britain in the war, shoving constitutionalism and sovereignty in the background.

176. S.M. Ikram, op. cit., p. 254.

177. Ibid.

178. The other working Committee signatories were Jairamdas Daulatram, S.D. Dev and Jamnilal Bajaj.

of the other socialist colleagues and the acts of other socialists . . . the Congress organisation has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain. The effect of your propaganda on the political work immediately before the nation, particularly the programme of election, has been very harmful and we feel that in the situation created we cannot shoulder the responsibility of organising and fighting the coming elections." [179]

In a sense, they were right.[180] Although Congress gained in the 1937 elections—held shortly after Lord Linlithgow replaced Lord Willingdon as Viceroy (in 1936)—even in the North-West Frontier Province with its Muslim majority, where, as in Assam, this Hindu organisation was dominant, it was in a minority position in Sind, Bengal and the Punjab,[181] where non-League Muslim parties scored successes. "Out of a total of 485 Muslim seats, the Muslim League was able to capture only 108. The Congress contested 58 Muslim seats and won 26." [182] In other words, despite the League's defeat at the polls, Nehru's attempt to make Congress a truly national body neither succeeded. Muslim India's mood nevertheless was sombre.

"The second half of the year 1937 was one of the darkest periods through which Indian Muslims have had to pass since 1857. Their central political organization had failed to show any effectiveness at the polls. Over the greater part of the country, where the Congress ministries held sway, they felt that the Hindu Raj had come. . . . They were most disheartened and sore at heart. They saw no way out of their predicament, and thought that soon the Congress, with its vast organisation, . . . would extend its sway even over the Muslim majority provinces, and the whole country would become a vast prison-house for them."[183]

That undoubtedly was one major reason for Dr Muḥammad Iqbāl to write a letter to Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ on 28 Nay 1937. Another was the suggestion of a few Muslims that the League should come to terms with Congress.[184] Iqbāl also wrote in that letter:

179. It is reproduced in *A Bunch of Old Letters*, No. 147, p. 191.

180. About 457,000 officially were registered in 1936.

181. Fazlul Haq's Kroja Party won in Bengal; Sidandar Hayat Khan's Unionist Party won in the Punjab.

182. V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Princeton : 1957, Princetone University Press), p. 55.

183. Ikram, op. cit., p. 258.

184. Ibid.

"After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that, if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence will be secured to everybody. *But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years*, and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which, as a matter of fact, has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots."[185]

Rejecting Nehru's socialism which "is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves," and insisting on "social democracy" as being "consistent with the legal principles of Islam,"[186] he resumed the political motif. Stating that Islam's basic principles and orientation would make it "far more easy . . . for the Muslims than for the Hindus" to solve "the modern problems." Iqbāl continued:

"But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru."[187]

He apologised for contacting Jinnāḥ frequently by mail:

"I know you are a busy man; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India."[188]

Not only did he insist on Jinnāḥ's turn of mind because of his fear for a civil war, predicating a year before his death an actual event which would occur a decade later. Neither was he trying to impose on someone else his "honest conviction" for his own

185. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 17. Italics ours. It is reproduced in Vahid, op. cit., pp. 240-41. Notice his reference to the economic situation.

186. Continuation of letter dated 28 May 1937. Cf. *JN*, line 1057, for his rejection of Socialism.

187. Letter of 28 May 1937, in *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 18.

188. Ibid., p. 19.

satisfaction. He was not an egotist. He was a keen observer of events to the very end of his life. They prompted him to write still another letter to Jinnāḥ, marked "Private and Confidential" and dated Lahore, 21 June 1937, wherein he remarked:

"During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. . . . There have also been cases of burning the Koran in Sind. I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, i.e. the desire of the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims."[189]

Apart from the political situation, including the League's heavy defeat in 1937, Iqbāl had still other reasons for addressing Jinnāḥ in these words. One was that he formally repeated that he considered Jinnāḥ the only man capable of giving effective leadership to Indian Islam in the late 1930's. He wished to impress this undisputable fact upon his colleague. The other reason was his fear that Jinnāḥ might disillusion Indian Islam if he continued to insist on a united India. This fear was real, because Jinnāḥ had said publicly in March 1937 (at Delhi):

"'The Hindus and Muslims must be organized separately, and once they are organized they will understand each other better, and then we will not have to wait for years for an understanding. . . . I am helping eighty million people, and if they are more organized they will be all the more useful for the national struggle."[190]

Iqbāl did not like this speech; he was not fooled by Jinnāḥ's reference to separate Muslim leadership in order to improve Muslim-Hindu relations and prepare India's Muslims to join in the "national struggle" for freedom. It meant that Jinnāḥ might continue to ignore the real Indo-Muslim dilemma for which there was in Iqbāl's view no cure. If Iqbāl long ago had pointed out that India's Muslims lived in a self-made prison, Jinnāḥ was forced to take stock of the League's defeat in the 1937 elections. So did the refusal of Congress, after passing a resolution (in July

189. Ibid., p. 21, for the above quotation, pp. 20-25 for its full text.
190. Moraes, op. cit., p. 263.

1937) permitting Congressmen to accept office,[191] to set up coalition ministries[192] unless those Muslims entering them would join this Hindu body. If Congress policy resulting in "a serious rift with the League"[193] angered Jinnāḥ, it came as no surprise to Iqbāl. These great disappointments as much as Iqbāl's influence must have caused him to change his political ideology between 1937 and 1940. During Iqbāl's last years, Jinnāḥ undoubtedly realised that the "Pakistan scheme" was not as "crazy" as he formerly thought.

"As for the villager, the cultivator and the artisan, who formed 90 per cent of India's population, he lived in 1937 much as he had lived for a hundred years. Hindu and Muslim dwelt in the same village, but in different parts of it. The Muslim did not eat with the Hindu or marry into his family. His food, his dress, his name, and often his profession were distinctly Muslim, and when he died he was buried, whereas the Hindu was burned."[194]

The League's defeat, Congress arrogance, and the general socio-economic picture in 1937—it had not changed for centuries—was such that any hope for coming to terms with Congress was doomed. Iqbāl again had said as much some years before. Thus, the Muslims finally had no choice but to heed his advice. They had seen what had happened to them and saw but one way to save themselves: to have a powerful national Muslim organisation as their spokesman and their guide. Iqbāl again correctly felt Islamic India's pulse, because he furthermore wrote to Jinnāḥ in his 21 June 1937 letter:

"I think you should seriously consider the advisibility of holding the coming session at Lahore in the middle of October when the weather is quite good in Lahore. The interest in the

191. In March 1937, the All-India Congress Committee (A.I.C.C.) had refused to take office because the Governors could not promise interference in their affairs. Lord Linlithgow then stated (on 22 June 1937) that such interference would be very limited in scope.

192. By August 1937, Congress ministries were in operation in Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. They withdrew in November 1939 as a protest against British insistence that India help in their war effort.

193. Menon, op. cit., p. 56. 194. Symonds, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

All-India Muslim League is rapidly growing in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims."[195]

As of 11 August 1937, however, no date for the next League session, which would be held later that year at Lucknow, had been fixed.[196] This and the fact that Congress ministries now were set up in various provinces, caused Iqbāl to advise Jinnāḥ in yet another "Private and Confidential" letter, dated Lahore, 30 October 1937:

> "We must carry the work of organisation more vigorously than ever and should not rest till Muslim Governments are established in the five provinces and reforms are granted to Baluchistan."[197]

Due not a little to Iqbāl's promptings behind the scene, "the Muslim premiers of the Punjab,[198] Bengal and Sind came to terms with Jinnāḥ, and agreed to abide by the policy and decisions of All-India Muslim League in All-India matters." Their changed stand was announced during the League's annual meeting, "held at Lucknow, towards the end of 1937" and "not only opened a new chapter for the League but marked a turning point in the history of Muslim India."[199] Jinnāḥ presiding over this convention felt stronger because of these premiers' and majority-Muslim support. "The Muslim masses were behind the League; in fact, they supported the League more solidly where they were in a minority than in the Muslim majority provinces."[200] Now truly emerging as Islamic India's leader (*Qā'id-i A'ẓam*), he forced Congress to take note that he and the League would *not* play second fiddle. The result was that some Congress leaders began to chide themselves for their rigid approach after their 1937

195. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, pp. 24-25.

196. Cf. ibid., pp. 25-26, for his epistle dated 11 August 1937.

197. Ibid., p. 28.

198. Upon Sikandar Hayat Khan's death (in 1942), his successor, Khizr Hayat Khan quarrelled with Jinnāḥ and was expelled from the League, resulting in his ministry's severing all connections with it.

199. Ikram, op. cit., p. 259.

200. Menon, op. cit., p. 439. The reason is obvious: their smaller numbers in Hindu-majority provinces demanded it.

victories.[201] The resurrection of Muslim India had begun.

"Since 1907, Iqbāl had foreseen the reawakening of the Muslim peoples and, in 1912, he ended his poem, 'The Candle and the Poet" with these lines:

'The night shall flee with the rise of the sun
And the garden shall resound with the chant of unity.'"[202]

Allusions to the fact that Muslims and Hindus form "separate nations" began to crop up, in the "Sind Resolution," for example, passed by the Provincial Muslim Conference (Karachi, October 1938), while a sub-committee set up by it to examine that question "recommended the creation of a separate Muslim state, as the only effective safeguard against the Muslims being submerged by the Hindus and permanently suffering the hardships of which they had had a foretaste in 1937"[203] and, one might add, during the previous decades. Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl's voice was being heard.

II. *His Last Wishes*

Although he had not been feeling too well, Iqbāl published between 1936 and 1938 three volumes of verse: the Persian *Mathnāvī Pas Cheh Bayad Kard*, apparently written in Bhopal[204] the Urdu *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm* (The Rod of Moses)[205] both of which came out in 1936, and the *Armughān-i-Ḥijāz* (1938) (The Gift of Ḥijāz), which was a collection of Urdu and Persian compositions. The main themes in these works relate to Iqbāl's doctrine of activism. In many verses he chides the Muslims for their apathy—another way to stir them up—such as in the poem called "Complaint," which is found in the *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm*:

201. Ikram, op. cit., p. 260.

202. *Mohammed Iqbal*, Presentation par Luce-Claude Maitre in the series of Poetes d'Augourdhui, No. 107. Editions Seghers, Paris, 1964. P. 45 for prose text and these poetic lines Trans. from French by L. S. May.

203. Ikram, op. cit., p. 261.

204. See Sahba Lakhnawi, *Iqbāl Aur Bhopāl* (Karachi : 1973, Iqbal Academy). His contact with Bhopal began in 1910.

205. The *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm* (abbreviated as *DK*) has various sub-divisions, e.g. "Islam and the Muslims," "Education and Culture," "Women," "Literature and Art," "Politics in East and West."

"'Who knows the fate of India which is
still but a bright jewel in some other crown;
The peasant is like a corpse exhumed
from its grave, its shroud still buried underground!
The body and the soul are alike mortgaged to others—
neither the house nor the house-owner remains.
You have reconciled yourself to the slavery of the West;
my grudge is against you, not against West.'"[206]

It links with one of his earliest poems, *Shikwah*, and its continuation in the *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*. The language used for his "grudge . . . against" the Indian Mussalmans is very strong. Did he give up hope that they ever would hearken to his advice? He had no certainty that they would, because the man whom he himself regarded as Islamic India's leader not yet had accepted fully the Pakistan idea. His many letters to Jinnāḥ toward the end of his (Iqbāl's) life bear out his uncertainty about Islamic India's final destiny. It also juts forth from the first verse put in question form: "Who knows the fate of India" inclusive of its Muslim parts. The question is followed by a statement about the actual condition which has remained unchanged since 1857. Then comes a further elaboration: life is like death; there is nothing to hope for; the land, the people are mortgaged to the British; but they do not stir—hence, the simile of the corpse. Iqbāl's "Complaint" is his personal expression—he feels sad, almost hopeless, but keeps pounding on the same theme over and over again. Perhaps, his message will seep through![207] He cannot do more but stress the actual situation, the dire future if his people refuse to shake off their "ancient slumber" and "re-chisel their ancient frame".[208] Iqbāl's life was ebbing. During his last illness, he apparently summond India's future (now late) Prime Minister J. Nehru to his bedside.

206. *DK*, p. 42, in section: "Islam and the Muslims," poem called "Fate". *Vide* his *Secrets*, p. 23, and *BJ*, p. 193, for a similar idea.

207. Cf. *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*, p. 37.

208. Quoted from Iqbāl's *JN*, line 1785 (Mahmud Ahmad's translation); and as quoted in *Reconstruction*, p. 199. Please note his stress on the word "ancient" implying that they have slumbered long enough and that it is time—accentuated by the word "now" in *JN*, line 1785—to shed off the dust of the ages and revitalise.

"He was in reminiscent mood and he wandered from one subject to another, and I listened to him, talking little to myself. I admired him and his poetry, and it pleased me greatly to feel that he liked me and had a good opinion of me. A little before I left him he said to me: 'What is there in common between Jinnāḥ and you? He is a politician, you are a patriot.' 'I hope, there is still much in common between Mr. Jinnāḥ and me. As for my being a patriot, I do not know that this is a particular qualification in these days, at least in the limited sense of the word. Greatly attached as I am to India, I have long felt that something more than national attachment is necessary for us in order to understand and solve even our own problems. . . .' *But Iqbāl was certainly right in holding that I was not much of a politician*, although politics had seized me and made me its victim."[209]

What Iqbāl meant and with which Nehru agreed was that this Hindu leader and his co-religionists could be patriots because Hind was their land and it was the cradle of their religion and culture. Islam was an import and, although it had come to India in the eighth century, it continued to be regarded as alien to India's cultic life and civil mode. The Muslims have their own faith and socio-cultural tradition. The tension between these two diverse societies spilled over from the religious into the political and socio-economic spheres. Therefore, the Indian Muslim could not be a patriot like his Hindu counterpart; his patriotism consisting in loyalty to Islam transcended political boundaries. When secular forces compelled them to define their patriotism, they did so in terms of religious nationalism, wherein they may have been influenced politically at least by European ideology[210] and by nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hindu thought which extolled the "religion of Nationalism," to be carried out "in the religious spirit". It merged cult and country which Iqbāl had warned was foreign to Islam. The Muslims could not identify Islam fully with India because their religion as stated was not born in Bharat.[211] The majority thus became

209. Nehru, *Discovery*, p. 355. Italics ours.

210. *Vide* May, op. cit., pp. 240 ff. concerning the influence which the French philosopher Ernest Renan (1823-1892) may have had on the formulation of Iqbāl's political ideology.

211. Bharat is another name for Hind.

Muslim, instead of Indian, patriots. Secularism played a role in relating Islamic societies to specific geographical areas ; in Indian Islam's case, to those regions where it formed a majority and which later congealed into Pakistan. To effect such a major change, based on a certain political ideology, a politician loyal to Islam, not an Indian patriot, was needed. That is what Iqbāl meant in defining the difference between Nehru and Jinnāḥ. That is why he tried hard to convince Jinnāḥ that Indian patriotism so closely identified with Hinduism in the non-Muslim minds of Hind was bound to bring even greater troubles for the Mussalmans in a united India freed from British control. Under the Englishman, Islam at least continued in existence, to express itself in political and cultural terms. He feared that that would be impossible under Hindu leadership ; his anxieties were deepened by the actual events He undoubtedly called Jinnāḥ also to his bedside and impressed him once again how illogical it was for a Muslim to consider himself an Indian patriot.[212] Not long afterwards, Jinnāḥ formally and publicly expressed his full agreement with Iqbāl's viewpoint.

Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl's work was done. Burnt out from "the fire of my song,"[213] which "gave a message of life to the dying,"[214] he closed his eyes on 21 April 1938. Muslim India felt its loss deeply. Jinnāḥ's condolence message to Iqbāl's son Jāvīd read :

"'To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment.'"[215]

How much he has been missed and admired ever since he died shows forth from the annual Iqbāl Day commemorations. The man destined to become Pakistan's "leader" (*Qā'id-i-A'ẓam*) and first Governor-General said during one such commemoration :

212. *Vide* Iqbāl's 1930 presidential speech wherein he stated that "a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim" (May, op. cit., p. 240).

213. *BD*, p. 214. 214. *PM*, p. 2.

215. *Iqbal Studies*, op. cit., p. 2.

"Iqbal was not merely a preacher and a philosopher. He stood for courage and action, perseverance and self-reliance, and above all for faith in God and devotion to Islam. In his person were combined the idealism of the poet and the realism of the man who takes a practical view of things."[216]

Epilogue: 1938-1947

Although Dr Iqbāl's terrestrial career had ended, his clarion call rang loud and clear through all of his works. The truth of his warnings became increasingly clear as the years wore on. Jinnāḥ and other Muslims were so impressed by them that they began to shift their viewpoint between 1937 and 1940. Jinnāḥ, himself, said in his famous speech as President of the All-India Muslim League (in 1940): "No power on earth can prevent Pakistan." It henceforth became Indian Islam's ideology and goal. *Svaraj* henceforth had two directions: freedom for Hind; freedom for Islamic India, which rallied around Jinnāḥ, thereby recognising him as their "leader". The Second World War (1939-1945) blotted the movement. Hitler's armies grabbed Holland, Belgium, France, invaded Russia, and carried the "Blitzkrieg" to England's shores.[217] The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour (on 7 December 1941) drew the then strongly isolationist United States into this second twentieth-century cataclysm. India against its will was forced to aid Great Britain in her military activities. The War hardly had ended or negotiations between the Government and India's leaders resumed. Again, British delegations came and went. While the Cripps Mission (22 March-12 April 1942)[218] was negotiating, Jinnāḥ complained that " 'the talks had been carried on with the Congress leaders over the heads of the Muslims, and other parties had been utterly ignored.' "[219] Meanwhile, those

216. Dr. H.H. Bilgrami, "The Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan," in *Pakistan Affairs* (Washington, D.C. : 1957, Embassy of Pakistan).

217. Consequently six million Jews perished in the concentration camps because they did not belong to the Aryan or "pure" and "noble" race.

218. So called because it was led by Sir Stafford Cripps. Abul Kalām Āzād then was Congress President.

219. Menon, op. cit., p. 133.

sitting in the Madras legislature passed two resolutions upon the request of their premier, C. Rajagopalachari, namely, the first, acknowledging the League's valid claim to Pakistan; the second, asking the League to co-operate with Congress in establishing "'a national government to meet the present emergency.'"[220] Some Congress members thereby conceded the legality of partition, which they now brought down from a speculative idea to the arena of practical political consideration. It was a happy moment for Jinnāḥ, who must thave thought about Iqbāl often at this time, and for the League. When these two resolutions were placed before the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Allahabad (on 29 April 1942), however, its membership rejected the partition idea on grounds that it would lead to India's disintegration. Nehru's letter addressed to Sayyid Maḥmūd from Allahabad on 2 Februery 1942 was an index to the next major Hindu policy step. He said in part:

"The whole conception of the Constituent Assembly is to bring out mass elements and urges which will not view the communal problem or other problems from the middle class point of view which has landed us into this impasse. Personally I see no solution of the problem, however hard we may try, so long as the third party (the British) is not eliminated. . . . Jinnāḥ puts the cart before the horse."[221]

He urged that Jinnāḥ, League and Muslim non-Leaguers co-operate with him and Congress in achieving the first primary step: freedom through expulsion of the British; and that they then work together to solve other, including the communal, problems. Jinnāḥ and many other Muslims feared that, once the British had departed, they would not stand a chance, a view to which Iqbāl long had adhered. Jinnāḥ undoubtedly was influenced by him through the stream of intensive correspondence[222] and private conversations. The events themselves also stirred him into a new political direction.

220. Ibid., p. 139.

221. *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 472-74 for the whole letter; p. 473 for the above quotation.

222. It seems to have been particularly heavy from Iqbāl's side in 1937, for the reasons indicated in the above text.

Gandhi now began to insist that the British "quit India," approved by the Congress Working Committee's resolution during their next session at Wardha (on 6 July). Jinnāḥ was in arms, because it meant "'throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress Raj.'"[223] Jinnāḥ thus repeated the Aligarh thesis advanced earlier in the twentieth century by Viqār-ul-Mulk. The reason for his anger was that no effective agreement had been reached with Nehru, Gandhi, and the British concerning Islamic India's political rights.[224]

The subsequent Gandhi-Jinnāḥ talks (9-27 September 1944) broke down, the *Qā'id-i-A'ẓam* accusing the *Mahatma* of rejecting the 1929 Lahore resolution,[225] because he refused to accept the Muslims as "a nation". They now numbered 100 million against 250 million Hindus. Jinnāḥ insistently repudiated a central government, because insufficient guarantees were given for his people's protection. His meetings with Gandhi were held at a time when parts of India suffered famine, a rise in the cost of living, a shortage of essential goods, and, in Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's words, "after seven years of Lord Linlithgow's administration . . . is much more divided than it was when he came here."[226] This Viceroy and his successor failed in their plan to give political unity to Hind, which they had governed for so long and for which they themselves were, at least in part, responsible.[227] The Cabinet Mission (24 March-29 June 1946)[228] was as unsuccessful in getting Muslims and Hindus to agree on central political issues as was the Cripps Mission. Among the All-India Muslim League demands were that: the North-West Frontier province, which had a League ministry since 25 May 1943, Bengal, Sind,

223. Menon, op. cit., p. 141; cf. pp. 140-41: Gandhi then began to write a series of articles in the *Harijan*.

224. It shows that Gandhi never relented and that his view ultimately prevailed.

225. They were held about a year after Lord Linlithgow had been replaced as Viceroy (on 20 October 1943) by Lord Wavell (until 1947).

226. Menon, op. cit., p. 151.

227. Ibid., p. 133.

228. So called because it was composed of Cabinet ministers. It conferred with Muslim League and Congress leaders at Simla between 5 and 12 May 1946.

the Punjab, Baluchistan and Assam be regarded "as one group" (Art. 1), for which "there shall be a separate constitution-making body" to frame a constitution for them and determine which subjects should be "Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation)," guaranteeing "sovereign powers" to the Provinces in that group (Art. 2) and assuring proportionate and adequate representation of all communities "in each province of the Pakistan group" (Art. 3), as well as "parity of representation between the two groups of provinces in the Union executive and the legislature, if any" (Art. 6).[229] The Cabinet Mission in its (16 May 1946) "Statement" rejected Pakistan for various reasons: partition would be contrary to the wishes of the non-Muslim population resident in the "six provinces"; it would divide such groups as the Sikhs; it would bring large Hindu groups into Pakistan which the League would consider impracticable; partition would not solve the communal issue. It proposed instead "a Union of India," with sovereign powers held by its provinces and states on all subjects except those, such as defence, which they would cede to the Union.[230] Jinnāḥ remained adamant; so did Gandhi, whom he once more accused of having declared (on 23 October 1946): "The Constituent Assembly is based on the State paper That paper has put in cold storage the idea of Pakistan.'"[231] India continued to be plagued during these years by Hindu-Muslim riots, which together with Congress-League dissension, caused Lord Wavell to express[232] his hope for co-operation to solve "'the deplorable tension which exists between the two main communities in India". Finally, an interim Government into which the League entered was sworn in (on 26 October 1946), and the Viceroy now urged Jinnāḥ to have League representatives also join the Constituent Assembly. Jinnāḥ remained

229. Menon, op. cit., pp. 259-60 for the full list of League demands; cf. ibid., pp. 260-63 for Congress counter-proposals and Jinnāḥ's stand.

230. *Vide* ibid., pp. 263 ff.

231. Letter dated 17 November 1946 addressed to the Viceroy, wherein he also stated that Congress never had accepted the 16 May "Statement". (Menon, op. cit., p. 321)

232. In his reply to Nehru, who wished to obtain Jinnāḥ's assurance of co-operation. (Correspondence dated October 194*.)

vague, as the League continued to reject Nehru's leadership and to be dissatisfied with Hindu assurances concerning Muslim autonomy and safeguards for the Muslim way of life. The massacres of Mussalmans in Bihar, League opposition to Hindu supremacy, Hindu fear of Muslim National Guards or a private army, the existence of a Muslim and a Hindu "bloc" in Government, the constant bickering about who should have which portfolio, the Muslim insistence on separate electorates, proportionate representation, complete provincial autonomy to protect Islamic India's inhabitants led to a stalemate and, ultimately, a breakdown between Hindu and Muslim leaders, which the British could not prevent. England's Prime Minister conceded in his radio broadcast made (on the evening of 3 June 1947) on behalf of His Majesty's Government: "'As the Indian leaders have finally failed to agree on the Cabinet Mission's plan for a united India, partition becomes the inevitable alternative.'"[233] Pakistan had become a political reality! The most important questions now related to the actual provinces which were to form Pakistan, to hold elections on the basis of which this issue would be determined, and to set up the necessary machinery providing for the "transfer of power"[234] from Great Britain to India, and for executing its partition. By acknowledging Pakistan as a *fait accompli*, the British silenced all voices considering it to be a "fictitious" claim. "The Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., one of India's best friends in the Labour Party, considered as late as 1947 that Pakistan was 'impossible as well as undesirable'."[235] In that same year India became free; and Pakistan was born (on 15 August 1947). The elections prior to partition confirmed some of the 1937 results, viz. the Punjab, Bengal and Sind stood firmly in the Muslim camp. The first two provinces were divided into East and West to allow their respective Hindu districts to remain within India. Apart from the West Punjab, Sind and East Bengal, as well as the North-West Frontier Province and Baluch-

233. Menon, op. cit., p. 378, and Appendix X, pp. 510 ff. for full text.

234. It is the title of Menon's book, op. cit.

235. Symonds, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

istan, the following states also joined Pakistan: Bahawalpur, Makran, Kalat, Kharan, Las Bela and Khairpur. It was not unlike the earlier suggestions, which were kept alive by Mohânī, warned against by Lajpat Rai, and given a definite and final formulation by Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl.

The British Government had been dominated by a political principle which had been inherited from the beginning of East India Company days: to maintain and to rule an Empire in Hind. This principle had been expressed by the Company's Sir Josiah Child about two and a half centuries earlier. He had suggested to its directorate in one of his despatches (dated 25 September 1687) that it lay "'the foundations of a large and well-grounded sure English dominion in India *for all time to come.*'"[236] Such a policy was advocated by the Home Government and the Government of India, despite any altruism found in any Act, decree or rule applicable to Hind. Even Macaulay who hoped that its people would be trained in representative government, considering the British form the most ideal, its governors to act as pedagogues, having Bharat's good at heart, acknowledged that there was, at least for the time being, only one way to govern this "Colony," viz. by "'an enlightened and paternal despotism'."[237] Their dream of an eternal Empire in Hind lay broken by the 1940's. Congress did not lie shattered, contrary to Lord Curzon's hopes. It and the Muslim League, which were heirs to older political associations, had done their job well, because British India achieved at the polls what it had been unable to attain through the "Mutiny" and other public forms of protest. As early as 1879, when Iqbāl was only two years old, and a former Government clerk at Poona had stirred a small rebellion, seen as

236. Quoted by Kumar Goshal, *The People of India* (New York: 1944, Sheridan House, Inc.), p. 77. Italics ours.

237. Macaulay's 1833 speech as Board of Control Secretary before the House of Commons, quoted by R.Coupland, *The Indian Problem : Report on the Constitutional Problem* (London/New York: 1944, Oxford University Press), p. 20; ibid., p. 19, footnote "1. Macaulay, Hansard, xix (1833), 503-36".

"political" by the Government,[238] Sir Richard Temple stated:

"'Never have I known in India a national and political ambition so continuous, so enduring, so far-reaching, so utterly impossible for us to satisfy as that of the Brahmins of western India'";

they apparently feel that

"'the Hindoo policy . . . will one day reassert itself over the whole conquest.'"[239]

Similar sentiments prevailed in the Deccan, where the Maratha revolt's memories remained alive. "'There is a general tendency also,'" wrote Sir Richard again, "'to criticise to an extreme degree, not only the proceedings of Government and its offers, but also the national conduct and policy of the British in respect to India."[240] That Congress and the League became India's formal organs of protest has been noted. That Messrs Temple, Lytton and other like-minded officials were too certain concerning the Indians' "utterly impossible" dream has been proven by history.

Dr Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl's life also had been dominated by one single idea which an entry in his *Diary* confirms:

"If you wish to be heard in the noise of this world, let your soul be dominated by a single idea. It is the man with a single idea who creates political and social revolutions, establishes empires and gives law to the world."[241]

He also confided to his *Notebook* that this single idea was "to reconstruct the world of sin and misery into a veritable paradise."[242] It meant more concretely that he wished to transform

238. Anil Seal, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge: 1968, Cambridge University Press), pp. 234-35, text and p. 235, footnote "2. Temple to Lytton, 9 July 1879, Temple Papers, MSS Eur. F. 86." The clerk's name was Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, in Government service for fifteen years, who "took to the hills, proclaiming himself 'Pradhan' to Sivaji II".

239. Ibid., p. 234, text and footnote "2. Temple to Lytton, 9 July 1879, Temple Papers, MSS Eur. F. 86".

240. Ibid., p. 234, text and footnote "3. Minute by Temple, 31 July 1879, LP (520/3)".

241. *Recollections*, op. cit., p. 155. 242. Ibid., p. 102.

servile and dejected Indian Islam into an energetic people forging their own sovereign state. That was the whole aim of his life and, hence, the dominant note in his poetry, lectures, other writings and speeches, wherein he at the same time rejected the British political principle of eternal rule, because it is contrary to his doctrine of life, and at the same time, defined the character of an Islamic polity. He thus was not a "mere poet," but "a prophet," [243] who discharged the duties assigned to him by God "True political life," he again wrote in his *Notebook*, "begins not with the claiming of rights, but with the doing of duties." [244] That alone makes a man deserving of immortality, because it means love for Allah, Muḥammad, his fellow-men and his self. Iqbāl once had said: "Death does not exist. It is life that is the predominant reality, not death." [245] Life is the budding of the once dormant ego; [246] dynamistic Pakistan is life. This is what Iqbāl dreamt of and ardently hoped for; in darkest days, he predicted the truth of his argument. It was he who, confident in Allah's workings in history and with His aid, had created "a new world" and imported "a new life to our being." [247] Building upon Sir Sayyid's two-nation theory, absorbing the teachings of Muḥammad Shiblī, Amīr 'Alī and other great Indo-Muslim thinkers and politicians, including Ḥasrat Mohānī,[248] listening to Hindu and British voices, and watching the fermenting Indian scene closely for approximately sixty years, he knew and ultimately convinced his people and their leaders, particularly Jinnāḥ, that:

> " ' We both are exiles in this land.
> Both longing for our dear home's sight ! " [249]

That dear home is Pakistan, on which he harpened like "a flute-player," but whose birth he did not witness.[250] The creation of

243. Ibid., p. 125. 244. Ibid., p. 132.
245. Hasan, op. cit., p. 27; cf. ibid , p. 30.
246. This is the main theme of his *Asrār-i-Khudi*.
247. *ZA*, p. 256, as cited by Vahid, op. cit., p 4.
248. Was Mohānī influenced at all by Iqbāl ?
249. *BJ*, p. 138, as cited by Vahid, op. cit., p. 5.
250. Neither was it given to Moses to enter the Holy Land (Numbers, 33 : 50 ; Deuteronomy, 34).

Pakistan, which shed its Dominion Status by declaring itself an Islamic Republic (on 23 March 1956) is a monument to DR (SIR) MUḤAMMAD IQBĀL. He therefore is eternally alive!

" 'At home wherever he may go,
No frontiers does the Momin know.' "[251]

251. *BJ*, p. 139, as cited by Vahid, op. cit., p. 5.

PART TWO

DR MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S VIEWS ON LIFE AND MAN

1

IQBĀL, THE MODERNIST

Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl, philosopher and lawyer, poet and politician, was a man of "uncomfortable mind". He searched for an answer to the truth of humanity. Born a Muslim, he found the answer in Islam's spiritual values and history. He expressed his intense loyalty to his religion in the following words: "I am a Muslim and, God willing, I will die a Muslim."[1] This sentence written to accentuate the great difference between Islam with its spiritual orientation and dialectical materialism[2] opposed to religion is at the same time Iqbāl's confession of faith. There were other reasons for his emphatic assertion: his modernism; Islam's validity *versus* Christianity; and the particularist notion that it is superior to all other faiths.

Dr Iqbāl had imbibed the modernist viewpoint since the days of his youth. He and like-minded men never felt that it in any way corroded their loyalty to their faith. The religious leadership felt otherwise about it. The dispute between orthodoxy and modernists, which is not dead today, derives from their respective distinct approaches to history. Involved also is the question concerning the interpretation of the Qur'ān's conception of life. Orthodoxy continues to insist on Scripture's non-evolutionary approach and on a traditional way of life prescribed and followed by the Prophet of Islam, the holy Caliphs, and the entire Muslim community (*Millat*). It was given its final legal formulation in the medieval canons which remain determinative for the modern age. In other words, the orthodox religious leadership holds to a historical view asserting an eternal life-mould rigidly fixed for

1. Sh. 'Aṭā' Ullah, Ed., *Iqbāl Nāmah* (Lahore: n.d., Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), Vol. I, p. 205, for his letter to Saiyidain wherein this statement occurs.

2. A system of thought presented by Marx and based on Hegel's doctrine.

all times. Their reason today as in the past is their fear of Islam's corrosion due to the manifold outside influences upon it. The modernists have been holding an opposite theory, viz. life is change; the Qur'ān teaches a dynamist philosophy; it does not advocate a doctrine of predetermination.[3] The modernists agree with the fundamentalists and conservatives that their Scripture is revealed by God to Muḥammad, and that it lays down certain basic precepts, e.g. God's eternity, creative act, and man's pious conduct as the determinant of his *post-mortem* destiny. They disagree with these groups by interpreting the nature of that conduct not in terms of passive submission and obedience to Allah's laws, but of an active interest and involvement in secular affairs. They cite as proof the Qur'ān's conception of man as Allah's vicegerent,[4] implying that secular concern is not taboo as long as it does not replace the religious spirit which is life's backbone. They also insist that Qur'ānic decrees relating to certain social matters such as those affecting womanhood should be changed to accommodate to changed times.[5] They cite ii. 106:

> "None of Our revelations do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten but We substitute something better or similar: knowest thou not that God hath power over all things?"

as legitimate proof substantiating their thesis permitting the abrogation of those decrees which pertain to past circumstances.[6] The opposition obviously rejects such tampering with Revealed

3. Cf. M.A. Rauf, "The Qur'ān and Free Will" (Part I), *The Muslim World*, Vol. LX, No. 3 (July 1970).

4. ii. 30, for instance; cf. iv. 125 on submission to God's will as the most pious act.

5. The Qur'ān has many laws concerning the protection of womanhood to which Sūrah iv. is dedicated; cf. iv. 34 on protection; iv. 3 on just dealings with women; iv. 4 ff. *re* dowery and property laws (also for orphans); iv, 19 ff. *re* marriage and divorce laws. xxxiii. 59, the "Verse of the Curtain" refers to the practice of seclusion, probably inherited from Sasanian times.

6. There is no unanimity on whether abrogation can be applied or not to Qur'ānic passages. If they can, the idea is that those abrogated again become effective when the circumstances they cover recur. The personal pronoun "We" is a plural majestatis used for Allah.

Law. The modernist-orthodox dispute even may have its anchor in the two diametrically opposed viewpoints presented by the Qur'ān. One is that it sees history as a sacred domain, wherein "God's imperative is heard, that in which man is commanded to act."[7] The second is that history as a body of events, facts, changes, "is primarily illustrative rather than inherently meaningful."[8] From this point of view, it is a vortex of "accidents" which " 'in no way affect the non-temporal principles of Islam.' "[9] God's purpose is realised independent of all historical events, whose outcome depends not on man, but on his Creator.[10] The Qur'ān, in other words, recognises that history is "desacralised," because it is not the domain wherein Divinity is directly present; "in the Qur'ān He only acts in history."[11] He alone "is sacred and the fundamental encounter with Him takes place neither in nature nor in history but in the 'recitation' (*Qur'ān*) of His eternal imperative Word."[12] For the Muslim, history "is the arena in which man obeys God's revelation."[13] Thus it is seen primarily as a stage on which the obedient can be distinguished from the disobedient and as a redemptive path, because it allows for spiritual development leading ultimately toward salvation. Human activity hence could mean and meant primarily religious study. Any secular engagements were reinforced with tenets concerning pious behaviour.[14] All events and changes affecting neither God's existence nor His nature insistently were taught to be dictated

7. Newel S. Booth, Jr., "The Historical and the Non-Historical in Islam," *The Muslim World*, Vol. LX, No. 2 (April 1970), pp. 109-22; p. 116 for quotation.

8. Ibid., p. 115. It is coloured unfortunately by Christian theology.

9. Ibid, quoting from "Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 21."

10. Ibid., p. 112.

11. Ibid., p. 115.

12. Ibid., pp. 115-16. The "Word" reflects Christian incarnation doctrine; it should have been non-capitalised in the context wherein it appears. The capitalisation was meant to stress God's sovereign speech.

13. Ibid., p. 116.

14. The medieval Muslim artists sculpted his creedal confession: "There is no god but God and Muḥammad is His Prophet" in wood, stone, marble and even embroidered it in tablecloths, etc.

by His will and decree. Such an approach opened the door to a fatalistic approach, against which Iqbāl and others fulminated. Fatalism signifies for them a defeatist philosophy of life; orthodoxy accepts it as an acknowledgment of Divine greatness on the part of imperfect man. Iqbāl saw fatalism as a confession of failure. Orthodoxy regards it as an honest statement about the human condition: it is puny in comparison with Allah's grandeur. Iqbāl considered human initiative as a religious dictate; orthodoxy, stressing Divine will and redemptive activity, rejects the thesis that man not God initiates action and change. Iqbāl subscribed to action resulting in progress as the path of man's salvation and abhorred the repetition of worn-out formulae.[15] Orthodoxy subscribes to an idea of redemption based on the study of Holy Writ and the mind's concentration on God. Iqbāl was, as were Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Amīr 'Alī, and others, very aware of the gap between modernism and traditionalism as well as of Islam's failure in the post-medieval era. The dispute between him and the opposition was not softened by his attacks upon the *'ulamā'* for teaching "false" religion devoid of activism and their criticism of him for rejecting mysticism and spreading "erroneous" modernist dogma. His statement that he was a loyal son of Islam gains the greater significance, because it was his personal affirmation in the face of his critics and intended to counter their influence on the populace. He wished to be remembered by his family, friends and compatriots as a Muslim.

His assault on the religious leadership derived from his feelings, which he shared with other modernists, that Islam's decay, viz. "historical failure," was due to the *'ulamā's'* clinging tenaciously to outmoded ideas which had coagulated in the *Sharī'ah*. Modernists generally demand a return to an Islam divested from its worn-out canons. That is why they wrote their commentaries giving fresh interpretations to Qurā'nic doctrine.[16] That is why, apart from his self-defence, Iqbāl quoted profusely from the Qur'ān to show its modernity and the valid-

15. Cf. *JN*, p. 84: *BJ* in V. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal* (Bombay: 1954, Orient Longman)s, p. 76.

16. Sir Sayyid's is a case in point.

ity of his views. He accepted, for instance: the Qur'ānic doctrine of submission to God's will, but he reinterpreted it in terms of an active involvement by a critically oriented "personality," and *not in the traditional sense of docile obedience*, which he held to be un-Qur'ānic; the *idea* of Allah's will, which he reinterpreted, however, by stating that Divinity wills activity leading to regeneration, *not meekness* causing the Muslims' slaughter on a Christian altar, which is certainly *not* His wish; [17] the Qur'ānic thesis that history has importance as a path of salvation marked by obedience, but again he retransformed it by saying that *it is in and through history that* (*a*) man becomes aware of his heritage and innate faculties; (*b*) he thus gains self-awareness which stirs him to act; (*c*) self-awareness, thought and action permit the ego to measure the present against the past and project the future—the Muslims lost their egohood through lack of historical perspective; [18] the notion of spiritual development, redefined by Iqbāl in terms of a psychological unfolding culminating in egohood, meaning freedom to think, act, remain loyal to one's own faith and culture, and govern one's own land and people.

Dr Iqbāl also was original in stating that the *mind's* redemption precedes the *soul's* salvation.[19]

The redefinition of these and other Qur'ānic theses, which is found in his earliest works: the *Asrār-i-Khudī*, the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, in his *Reconstruction*, and in nearly all of his writings, reveals Dr Iqbāl's approach to the Muslim and Indo-Muslim

17. *ZA*, p. 61. Here he departs from Israelite prophetic doctrine which is that destruction is God's punishment for disobedience to His commandments, but holds that He will *not* destroy all Israel, but save a remnant.

18. *RB*, p. 62; *AK*, p. 138: the accusation in this quoted couplet at the same time is a critique of lack of Muslim responsibility and of loss of historical perspective: the "garden" implying continuity, the "prison" constituting a historical break.

19. Iqbāl distinguished between the "mind" and the "soul," both rendered by the Greek term *psyche* (cf. the notions of *ka* and *ba* in ancient Egyptian thought). The "mind" may be defined as the seat of the subconscious; the "soul" may be said to be the substantive and, hence, redemptive or immortal element.

problem. It starkly exposes his modernism, the cause for the *'ulamā's'* opposition to his teachings, his counter-attacks on them, as well as his deep concern and persistent efforts to convince his people, dormant for "a thousand years,"[20] that his teachings are *not* un-Qur'ānic. He tried to show the contrary: they are truer to the Qur'ān and far more meaningful than the religious leaders' *dicta*.[21] The *'ulamā's'* and *mullā's* attacks upon him and the modernists, generally, are unjustified and the people should not listen to the former who were unable to counteract the foreigners' heavy doses of propaganda about Christianity's superiority and, indisputably, as history shows, responsible for Islam's spiritual decay and political enslavement. India's Muslims particularly should listen to him, because he teaches them the truth, he is opening their eyes to the needs of the present and is showing them the path leading to their reconstitution. Iqbāl saw their regeneration in the following order: (1) psychological; (2) religio-cultural; (3) political. Each interlocks with the preceding one and finally the three unite in the overarching theme of freedom. The psychological development lies within the individual; the religious relates to his "encounter" with Divinity and is psychological-metaphysical; the political, while it is external, relates to the psychological and socio-cultural levels. The element of compulsion is present in all three: psychologically, each "atom" has "greed" to bloom; spiritually, each personality strains toward its salvation; politically, each individual longs for freedom, which is his "natural" urge. Iqbāl defined man's inner striving in one single sentence: "Liberty is the fruit of compulsion."[22] Rephrasing the Qur'ānic dictum: "Let there be no compulsion in religion,"[23] he related it to the immediate or concrete situation in India, whose Muslims squashed not only by the British, but increasingly by the Hindus after the latter's revival, continued to groan about[24]

20. *ZA*, p. 9. 21. *BJ*, p. 193.

22. *AK*, p. 45; Nicholson, Tr., *The Secrets of the Self* (Lahore: 1969 reprint, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 72-73.

23. Ibid., p. 89.

24. Cf. his *Shikwah*, p. 29, and *BJ*, p. 193.

rather than change their sad fate.[25] Influenced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hindu extremist literature, British disavowal of Hind's political rights and rich cultural heritage[26] expressed in innumerable letters and tractates, and aware of the strong European philosophical and scientific pull on particularly the educated Indians, Iqbāl from his student days began to insist on Islam's superiority not only as a religion and a social way of life, but in its broad cultural contributions.[27] He presented this view in innumerable lectures while at Cambridge and reiterated it in his 1928 lecture tour.

The *Reconstruction* which recaptures the ideas which he presented to his audiences during that tour is partly in answer to the non-Muslims' superiority and partly in reply to the Muslims' inferiority complex. It also aims at countering the critics of modernism and activism. It has two major themes : Muslim revival and the evaluation of Islam's "true" nature. Iqbāl's dominant purpose for giving these lectures primarily before Muslim audiences was to refreshen their memory about Islam's past grandeur so as to instil into them pride in their endowments and a strong desire to recapture their spiritual strength and thus to infuse them with a fresh metaphysical approach and new dynamism. He hoped that reconstruction would end in resurrection; it signifies, in his own words :

25. *Vide* W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Mussulmans*, Calcutta : 1945, The Comrade Publishers; Syed Ahmad Khan's *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Mussulmans*, Lahore : Premier Book House; L.S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* (Lahore : 1969, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 30 ff.

26. In philosophy, painting, the dance, literature, etc. The British government's decision to train civil servants loyal to the Crown who needed to know English led to its suspension of support for the study of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit (1835), to the dismay of Western Orientalists. Among these was the pioneer Sir William Jones (1746-1794).

27. Cf. his Dissertation's title referring to Persia's philosophical development : *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, his statement in *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore : 1934, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 7, which shows the continuation of his earlier view about Islam's originality.

"... man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience." [28]

This passage contains a historical allusion to the Paradise story,[29] has metaphysical and psychological content pertaining to the nature and condition of the self, and has a political facet as it refers to "disobedience". Preceding the publication of his *Bāng-i-Darā* (1924) by four years, although the ideas therein are older, he reiterated in the latter work that "submissiveness" alone is insufficient, because God "demands . . . something more" from man than from the angels. The play of words is unmistakable: Islam means "submissiveness," that is, to Allah's dictates revealed in the Qur'ān. Iqbāl warned that if submissiveness means slavery, disobedience is warranted, even if it means death,[30] which ultimately is a meaningless term. After all, he wrote:

"Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice; and that is why, according to the Qur'ānic narration, Adam's first transgression was forgiven." [31]

He continued by stating that God took "a great risk" in allowing man to disobey.

"That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith. Perhaps such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was created of the 'goodliest fabric' and then 'brought down to be the lowest of the low'. As the Quran says: 'And for trial will We test you with evil and with good.' (21 : 36)" [32]

Again, a very interesting passage wherein religion is linked with politics and wherein history is seen in two ways; it serves God to test His created; it is evolutionary for it permits man to "rise" from a state of degradation to salvation. God's test, according to Iqbāl, involves obedience to Him to disobey earthly rulers when

28. *Reconstruction*, p. 85 ; cf. *JN*, p. 18.

29. The quotation occurs in the context of his discussion of the Fall story in the Old Testament and the Qur'ān (*Reconstruction*, pp. 82 ff.).

30. Cf. *BJ*, pp. 135-36.

31. *Reconstruction*, p. 85.

32. Ibid.

necessary, a view not shared by most at the time which caused him deep sadness.

Resurrection contained still another idea, presented two years later in his famous speech: the erection of an Islamic State on spiritual foundations and "spiritual unity". It will not suffer an "inner conflict of religious and political values."[33] Such a State makes "religion possible," meaningful and gives a fresh direction to history.[34] It "has a life-value of its own, inasmuch as it tends to give such society a specific inwardness. . . ."[35] It reintegrates "the forces of the average man's inner life, . . . thus preparing him for participation in the march of history. . . ."[36] An Islamic State embodies "the spiritual and the temporal," which for Islam are not "two distinct and separate realities which somehow have a point of contact, but which are in essence opposed to each other." He further said:

"In Islam it is the same reality which appears as the Church looked at from one point of view and the State from another. It is not true to say that Church and State are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a single unanalyzable reality which is one or the other as your point of view varies."[37]

Dr Iqbāl continued by asserting:

"There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of spirit. All is holy ground. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it: 'The whole of this earth is a mosque.' The State according to Islam is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization. But in this sense all state, not based on mere domination and aiming at the realization of ideal principles, is theocratic."[38]

The State lastly reflects:

"the ultimate aim of religious life, that is to say, the reconstruction of the finite ego by bringing him into contact with an eternal life-process, and thus giving him a metaphysical status of which we can have only a partial understanding in the half-choking atmosphere of our present environment."[39]

33. Ibid., p. 189.
34. It is part of the title of Chapter VII in ibid., pp. 181 ff.
35. Ibid., p. 167.
36. Ibid., p. 188.
37. Ibid., p. 154.
38. Ibid., p. 155.
39. Ibid., p. 194.

These passages like so many in his *Reconstruction* reveal the revolutionary nature of his teachings. The words "half-choking atmosphere" do not mean smog-laden air, but an environment devoid of sovereignty and freedom. The cited and other sections in this book also show an inner relationship in its author's thought between psychology, ethics, metaphysics, politics and religion. The ego's unfolding must result in proper action,[40] which will be guided by reason and determine his status in the cosmos; his conduct, shaping a new world,[41] must be in accord with the dictates of religion whose aim "is the spiritualization of the heart" and therefore "must penetrate the soul of man".[42] "Thus the Quran considers it necessary to unite religion and State, ethics and poliṭics in a single revelation, . . ."[43] If the State symbolises the "I can," "I am" and "continuous action,"[44] its and its citizenry's genuine identity rests chiefly on its spiritual foundations. His stress on the Muslim religious inheritance derived not only from the influence of "secular nationalism" but also from Western cultural influences. Time and again he warns the young against adopting European mores and fads:

"Eschew the East and do not be
Bewitched by Europe's wizardry:
Not worth a barley, in my view
Is all her ancient and her new."[45]

He like Muḥammad the Prophet warned against idolatry, having Rūmī "the Master"[46] preach that:

"Every previous nation that perished
Met destruction because it took stone to be wood."[47]

The false "gods" in this case comprised materialism, socialism, and all other isms. In the same letter wherein he rejected socialism

40. The Kantian "ought" in the German philosopher's ethics.
41. *JN*, p. 8: "Such glory. . . bright."
42. *Reconstruction*, p. 160.
43. Ibid., p. 166.
44. Ibid., p. 198.
45. *JN*, p. 230, tr. by A.J. Arberry, cited in S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 153.
46. *Vide* Qur'ān, xxxiv. 44 for Muḥammad as "the warner".
47. *BJ*, p. 184, cited in Vahid, op. cit., p. 88.

as being contrary to Islam, he wrote, however:

"As regards socialism Islam itself is a form of socialism from which the Muslims have profited very little up to this day."[48]

Many Muslims today acknowledge that socialist tenets are found in the Qur'ān, that is, those decrying the greed for property and wealth and demanding its proper use and rightfu distribution, for example:

"And do not eat up your property among yourselves for vanities, nor use it as bait for the judges, with intent that ye may eat up wrongfully and knowingly a little of people's property."[49]

Although the Qur'ān does not reject the possession of private wealth, it insists that it be used to help the needy, as the following verse also makes clear:

"Let not those among you who are endowed with grace and amplitude of means resolve by oath against helping their kinsmen, those in want. . . ."[50]

Many verses in the Qur'ān insist on *zakāt* or almsgiving, covering one-fortieth of one's annual income, as a pious deed. It was collected and distributed by the State to the poor, including those bereft of their male supporters through wars. The three major ideas: wealth is not to be used indiscriminately by its owners; they should share an ample part of it with the needy; and the State is the collector of a special "poor-tex," determining its rate and distribution,[51] are socialist dicta. That is why Iqbāl called "Islam itself a form of socialism." Why then did he object so hard to it? The answer is that, for him, it is part of the Islamic spiritual heritage. He rejected it as a political system devoid of religious moorings. That also was the reason for his repudiating Western democracy, eulogising instead the Islamic democratic pattern for its non-secular foundations. That makes it the more important for Muslim youths to understand and

48 Sh. 'Aṭā' Ullah, ed., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 319.

49. Qur'ān, ii. 188.

50. xxiv. 22.

51. The second holy Caliph, 'Umar (r. 634-644) instituted a financial organisation to assure proper registration of property, including moneys received and their distribution.

appreciate their own priceless heritage whose first and primary roots lie in the revelation received by Muḥammad and in the "system" developed by him. Indeed,

"the Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the *source* of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the *spirit* of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world. In him life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islam . . . is the birth of inductive intellect."[52]

He continues by saying that Islam encourages the achievement of "full self-consciousness," implying that "man must finally be thrown back on his own resources" and that this means the abolition of prophecy having reached "perfection" and "of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam," because of "the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran. . . ."[53] Deftly weaving the psychological theme into his non-authoritarian approach to vindicate his modernism *vis a vis* the religious leadership, he broadened the scope of his presentation by introducing a new theme pertaining to the application of the intellect.

The subject is too big to be covered in a few pages. It involves the *'ulamā's'* traditional self-image and role, their idea of the State, their concept of obedience, as well as the legal issues of *ijtihād* and *ijmā'*, apart from the Qur'ānic doctrines of the State, authority and obedience, personality, individuality and perception of life, which includes the scientific, philosophical as well as religious, legal, social and political, and economic spheres. Briefly summarised, in Islam's early period, the Muslim was permitted to reason independently and it was mainly as the result of adverse political circumstances, such as the Mongol onslaught in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries,[54] that "the door of independent reasoning" (*ijtihād*) was closed. Henceforth, "the consensus of opinion" (*ijmā'*) among the theologian-jurists

52. *Reconstruction*, p. 126. Italics ours.

53. Ibid.

54. They destroyed Baghdad (1258), the brilliant capital of the Abbasid Caliphate (founded *c.* 750). "The flower" of Islamic society perished; so did innumerable valuable documents.

replaced *ijtihād*. It meant the negation of independent inquiry, the insistence on obeying the *'ulamā's'* dicta, and the compilation of the pyramid of commentaries derivatory rather than innovative in nature. Fearing a corrosion of the faith in times of upheaval, the religious leaders tightly held to their tradition disallowing any new ideas which they feared might undermine it. At the same time, they developed their self-image as guardians of the faith to whom all obeisance and respect were due.

"The manner in which religious priests obtained unquestioned obeisance attracted the attention of the worldly rulers as an easy and effective method for securing people's submission, a method in which authority is recognised not merely physically but submission sprouts from the very heart and soul and needs no police or military force to enforce authority. Worldly rulers, therefore, joined hands with religious priests and, in collusion with them, . . . the king became *Allah's* Shadow on earth, enforcing his orders as if they were the orders of God. Man-made religion has been of immense help in strengthening and consolidating mundane authority. . . ." [55]

Thus wrote Mr Parwez, another Indo-Muslim modernist, who repudiated "man-made" religion, that is, religious authoritarianism, insisting that "God has discredited the conception of a man ruling over another" and quoted in support the following Qur'ānic decree:

"No man whom Allah has given a code of law and authority to enforce the law and whom He has favoured with Revelation, shall tell people 'Obey me and not All.h'. . . (3/78)." [56]

He reiterated Scripture's tenet that obedience is due God and not any man, be he king or priest, for they, too, stand *under* and not above His law. This was Iqbāl's viewpoint, which Parwez and others share as modernists.[57] They have argued that the *'ulamā'* stifled their people for the sake of self-interest, inclusive

55. G.A. Parwez, *Quran's Political System* (Lahore : n.d., Idarah-e-Tolu-e-Islam), p. 5.

56. iii. 79 ; the translation by Parwez differs for obvious reasons. Parwez, op. cit., p. 25.

57. They continue to be angry at the religious leadership for blocking independent research and, hence, a fresh interpretation of Qur'ānic principles and a novel approach to life.

of the power motive. The modernists broke the traditional idea of the State ruled by king and priest who expected total obedience from their subjects. That puts Iqbāl's insistence on Islam being a "true" democracy even more in relief. Obedience being due to neither group nor to the State, but to Allah, the ego's sovereignty is guaranteed. This sovereignty includes freedom to do research, and to come to independent conclusions which then can be checked against those searched by colleagues and against the Qur'ān to assure their legality for the Muslim world. *Ijtihād* does not undermine, but strengthens, the State, so argue the Muslim modernists. "The Holy Quran," wrote Parwez. "has given a social order in which" the State and individuality "get stronger and firmer day by day, man's individuality in integration and the State in cohesion and solidarity."[58] That also was Dr Iqbāl's argument. The self's ripening which he eloquently presented in his *Asrār-i-Khudī* meant the beginning of a new life casting off the old chains and tasting of the freedom to gain a new sense of self and a fresh perspective about the ego's relations with the other world which psychological unfolding is aided by thinking freely, inductively.[59] The freedom to think does not refer exclusively to the political climate, but also to the Muslim theologians' imperative that their flock submit to their consensus, which blots "an independent critical attitude".[60] That mysticism with its concentration on God, the self's development and experience—it rejects intermediaries for the interpretation of the faith—fosters such an attitude is one reason why Dr Iqbāl saw values in it. Another reason is that some Ṣūfis acknowledge "both 'Anfus' (self) and 'Afaq' (world)" as well as "Nature and History" as valid "sources of knowledge". Their views highlight the Qur'ānic teachings of the ego's conquest of self, the world and evil.[61] Dr Iqbāl added: "The function of Sufism in Islam has been to systematize mystic experience; though it must be admitted that Ibn-i-Khaldun was the only Muslim who approached

58. G A. Parwez, *Islamic Ideology* (Lahore: n.d., Idarah-e-Tolu-e-Islam), p. 15.

59. The idea of free thought is inherent in "inductive logic".

60 *Reconstruction*, p. 127.

61. Ibid., p. 81.

it in a thoroughly scientific spirit."[62] He further stated: "The abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality."[63] Therefore, and this is what Iqbāl meant, (*a*) reason is as valid as religion as a source of truth, and, although the emotional does not displace the rational and each uses different methods, they both attempt to understand Reality (God);[64] (*b*) Allah, not any man, is the final source of authority, so that the Muslim theologians' claim to yield it is contrary to the Qur'ānic idea of finality. He said concerning this topic:

"I know the Ulema of Islam claim finality for the popular schools of Mohammedan Law, though they never found it possible to deny the theoretical possibility of a complete Ijtihad... but since things have changed and the world of Islam is to-day confronted and affected by new forces set free by the extraordinary development of human thought in all its directions, I see no reason why this attitude should be maintained any longer. Did the founders of our schools ever claim finality for their reasonings and interpretations? Never. The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to re-interpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."[65]

Since Islam is neither anti-progress nor non-progressive, those rejecting *ijtihād* in effect propose something that never was part of its spirit. The *'ulamā'*, aware of a theoretical possibility of a complete *ijtihād*, therefore ought to reach a new consensus permitting the individual to think independently and creatively.

62. Ibid., p. 127; cf. ibid., p. 72, which statement refers to later mysticism.

63. Ibid., p. 126.

64. Ibid., p. 127: "The idea of finality . . . should not be taken to suggest that the ultimate fate of life is complete displacement of emotion by reason. Such a thing is neither possible nor desirable."

65. Ibid., p. 168.

Their role is to guide, not to stifle, the mind. Dr Iqbāl's demand for "a fresh interpretation of foundational principles" relates not only to the intellectual, inclusive of the philosophical, scientific, historical and legal domains; it bears reference also to the social, political and administrative arenas. For instance, in social life, it applies to the right of a Muslim woman to sue for divorce. "In the Punjab, as everybody knows, there have been cases in which Muslim women wishing to get rid of undesirable husbands have been driven to apostasy. Nothing could be more distant from the aims of a missionary religion."[66] Politically, *ijtihād* means the right to form an independent judgment concerning the decisions to be made, actions to be taken, on improving the Muslims' conditions. This involves equally the need to reform old institutions after having examined their structure carefully and taking into account "the larger purpose which is being gradually worked out in the life of mankind as a whole."[67] Those acting as "critics" and "reformers" then jointly must come to some agreement and work together to give their people a better life. Such co-operation expresses "a collective will and conscience in this heterogeneous mass" of Muslims, which are not divided territorially.[68] *Ijtihād* ultimately implies a re-evaluation of legal Islamic principles: it involves Abū Ḥanīfah's introduction of

"the principle of 'Istihsan,' *i.e.*, juristic preference, which necessitates a careful study of actual conditions in legal thinking, [and] throws further light on the motives which determined his attitude towards his source of Mohammedan Law."[69]

"Juristic preference" means, of course, a personal choice between the diverse sources of law available to a Muslim for direct application to a particular case or to formulate a necessary decree by analogy (*qiyās*)[70] to a similar precedent—it is "the fourth basis of *Fiqh*"—or to derive a law from consulting the Qur'ān, *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, his successors' "sayings" and the subsequent community's legal traditions. Iqbāl asks for a prudent,

66. Ibid , p. 169.
67. Ibid., p. 167.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p. 172.
70. Ibid., pp. 177-78, under "(d) The Qiyas".

not "any indiscriminate use of them as a source of law," whereby

"modern Liberalism . . . will be only following one of the greatest exponents of Mohammedan Law in Sunni Islam. It is, however, impossible to deny the fact that the traditionists, by insisting on the value of the concrete case as against the tendency to abstract thinking in law, have done the greatest service to the Law of Islam. And a further intelligent study of the literature of traditions, if used as indicative of the spirit in which the Prophet himself interpreted his Revelation, may still be of great help in understanding the life-value of the legal principles enunciated in the Quran. A complete grasp of their life-value alone can equip us in our endeavour to re-interpret the foundational principles."[71]

The lawyer's reference clearly is to Muḥammad's legal ideas and interpretation. Iqbāl thus follows again the modernist tendency by regarding many parts of the juristic collections—to be used mainly for studying the Qur'ān's legal doctrine—as contrary to its spirit. Behind all his statements on Islamic law lies his view that the *Sharī'ah* governing the Muslim peoples must be brought up to date. It also involves the status and reorganisation of the judiciary as well as "the science of law," legal education and administration.[72] In the administrative arena, which comprises the legal and the political, the important question of the mode of government and the relations between the various institutions in an Islamic State emerged. It involved the issue of a permanent legislative assembly wherein the people's duly elected representatives would engage in legal discussion and their majority vote on a particular decree would make it into law. Their *ijmā'* obviously is unlike that of the theologians in nature and may be contrary to their viewpoint. The whole question of such an assembly was not easy to solve for India's Muslims, particularly not at the time they still were under English rule. Iqbāl addressed himself to it in one of his *Lectures*[73] given during his 1928 tour. He remarked that *ijmā'*, which, after the Qur'ān and *ijtihād*, is "the

71. Ibid., p. 173.

72. *Vide* Prof. Anwar Ahmad Qadri, "The Islamic Legal System of Saudi Arabia," *Islamic Literature*, Vol. XIV, No. 7 (July 1968), pp. 37-46.

73. No. VI : "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam," in *Reconstruction*, pp. 146-80.

third source of Mohammedan Law" never was transformed "into a permanent legislative institution" because "possibly" it "was contrary to the political interests of the kind of absolute monarchy that grew up in Islam immediately after the fourth Caliph."[74] Granting that some Western influences "on the mind of modern Islam," viz. "the value and possibilities of the idea of Ijma" were beneficial, he said:

"The growth of republican spirit, and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitutes a great step in advance. The transfer of the power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative assembly which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only possible form Ijma can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussion from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs. In this way alone we can stir into activity the dormant spirit of life in our legal system, and give it an evolutionary outlook."[75]

The idea that such an assembly would have laymen as members was contrary to the Islamic historical experience, as Iqbāl noted. The dangers of such an assembly were pointed out by him. He asked, for instance: "Can the Ijma repeal the Quran? It is unnecessary to raise this question before a Muslim audience," was his answer. "There is not the slightest justification for such a statement in the legal literature of Islam. Not even a tradition of the Prophet can have any such effect."[76] The warning against too secular a spirit is unmistakable in his reply.

"One more question may be asked as to the legislative activity of a modern Muslim assembly which must consist, at least for the present, mostly of men possessing no knowledge of the subtleties of Mohammedan Law. Such an assembly may make grave mistakes in their interpretation of law. How can we exclude or at least reduce the possibilities of erroneous interpretation?"[77]

74. Ibid., p. 173. 'Alī who was Muḥammad's cousin and, by marrying his daughter Fāṭimah, also the Prophet's son-in-law. He succeeded the third Caliph 'Uthmān; his brief rule (656-661) ended with his death, which also marks the conclusion of the Holy Caliphate.

75. Ibid., pp. 173-74. Iqbāl especially had Turkey and Iran in mind.

76. Ibid., p. 174.

77. Ibid., p. 175.

Iqbāl rejected separate ecclesiastical committee of "Ulema —'conversant with the affairs of the world'—having power to supervise the legislative activity of the Mejlis" as provided by the 1906 Persian constitution, as a "dangerous arrangement."[78] He suggested instead:

"The Ulema should form a vital part of Muslim legislative assembly helping and guiding free discussion on questions relating to law. The only effective remedy for the possibilities of erroneous interpretations is to reform the present system of legal education in Mohammedan countries, to extend its sphere, and to combine it with an intelligent study of modern jurisprudence."[79]

He pleaded for "the necessity of observing the actual movement and variety of life in the interpretation of juristic principles."[80] He concluded his presentation on Islamic law with these words:

"The closing of the door of Ijtihad is pure fiction suggested partly by the crystallization of legal thought in Islam, and partly by that intellectual laziness which, especially in the period of spiritual decay, turns great thinkers into idols. If some of the later doctors have upheld this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary surrender of intellectual independence."[81]

This statement factually describes the legal situation in Islam since the close of the Middle Ages and at the same time contains a harsh criticism of those continuing to oppose "intellectual independence" at a time it was urgently needed. Iqbāl added as an epilogue:

"This brief discussion, I hope, will make it clear to you that neither in the foundational principles nor in the structure of our systems, as we find them to-day, is there anything to justify the present attitude."[82]

He thus reiterates his demand that the "foundational principles" of Islamic law and, hence, of Muslim life, be reinterpreted in the light of modern knowledge and great necessity.[83] His remarks including those urging a new legal education involving also the study of Western law repudiate the view that Islamic religion is to be equated with *Fiqh* in so far as medieval canons form its

78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., p. 176.
80. Ibid., p. 177.
81. Ibid., p. 178.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., p. 169.

bases. The modernist cry: "Return to the Qur'ān" echoes through Iqbāl's presentation on Islamic law. The stated reason was of course that he remained within the Islamic tradition, and that his appeal was directed primarily to Muslims. He knew that they would and could progress only by providing the basis within their own religious tradition.

This would explain why Iqbāl the modernist nevertheless warned against too much liberalism. This facet of his thought reveals itself in all aspects—social, economic and political—of life.

2

IQBĀL, THE LIBERAL REFORMIST

Let us examine briefly how Iqbāl treated this theme.

"We heartily welcome the liberal movement in modern Islam; but it must also be admitted that the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical moment in the history of Islam. Liberalism has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration, . . ."

Indeed,

"our religious and political reformers in their zeal for liberalism may overstep the proper limits of reform in the absence of a check on their youthful fervour."[1]

Noting that the Islamic world at the time was "passing through a period similar to that of the Protestant revolution" which, he said, "was essentially a political movement," he urged the Islamic world's leadership to study carefully "what has happened in Europe" in order "to move forward with self-control and a clear insight into the ultimate aims of Islam as a social polity."[2] The foundations of Islamic liberalism should be Qur'ānic! "Believe me," Iqbāl said to his audiences:

"Europe to-day is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement. The Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation, which, speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalizes its own apparent externality. With him the spiritual basis of life is a matter of conviction for which even the least enlightened man among us can easily lay down his life; and in view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation binding on man, we ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth."[3]

1. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: 1944, Sh Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 162-63.

2. Ibid. p. 163.

3. Ibid., pp. 179-80. *Vide* his statement in his *Shikwah*, p. 19, that the Muslims willingly sacrifice their life for their faith.

In another Lecture,[4] Dr Iqbāl, refuting any notion that Islam is dogmatic and has a priesthood which constitutes *the* final authority on Islamic law and life, commented:

"And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values."[5]

Although Iqbāl used the word "religion" in general in this passage, he tried to contrast Islam's flexibility with Christianty's dogmatism and his culture's spirituality with Europe's secularism. The reason was his anxiety to preserve Islam's essence in the Muslim world where modern science and technology as well as Marxist ideology with their negation of traditional faith and stress on other values had begun to penetrate. The real problem for Iqbāl, as for all modernists, lies in their insistence on the rejuvenation of their religion so as to revitalise their people and the secularisation induced by such an approach. They hoped to prevent the latter by liberalising the *Sharī'ah* for fear that, otherwise, the Islamic foundations themselves would melt away in the twentieth century's technological tide. That is why Iqbāl advocated that the *'ulamā'* act as guides in the reinterpretation of Islamic principles whereby they would play a constructive rather than an obstructive role in leading their people out of their mental and political "enslavement".

Iqbāl's call: Arise and create a new world![6] underlies the whole modernist argument. Such a call embodies the Marxist view that man can remake his world and shape his future destiny. Its inherent dynamic approach to the human situation historically

4. *Reconstruction*, pp. 181-99. Lecture VII: "Is Religion Possible?" It is the closing chapter in this work. (The quotations in the previous section are taken from Chapter VI.)

5. Ibid., p. 189.

6. *JN*, p. 55; cf. *AK*, p. 9.

is oriented back to the early ages when man built villages and towns, dams and irrigation works, huge temples, ziggurats[7] and pyramids and a city-centred political, social and legal administration. The historical fact is that, as a builder, he was changing his life fundamentally. Dynamism also means a pragmatic approach to the human problem: it involves sound judgment shaped by experience. For Dr Iqbāl, experience itself is a religious process[8] through which the individual reaches salvation.

"He passes from experience to experience, not as a mere spectator, but as a critical sifter of experience who [applying] a peculiar technique, suited to his sphere of inquiry, endeavours to eliminate all subjective elements, psychological or physiological, in the content of his experience with a view finally to reach what is absolutely objective. This final experience is the revelation of a new life-process—original, essential, spontaneous. The eternal secret of the ego is that the moment he reaches this final revelation he recognizes it as the ultimate root of his being without the slightest hesitation."[9]

In analogy to Islamic mysticism, the self rises ever higher through the "planes" of his experience forming the gradating life-journey until he reaches Allah. Thereby he ends his Divine quest with the danger that he will relax his activity. The anthropological fact that man is a dynamic architect proven by his prehistorical[10] and historical record added strength to the modernist dogma of creative activity. Dr Iqbāl emblazoned it with his doctrine of *creation*.

Accusing his co-religionists of negating life, he told them that they thereby rejected God's creation, which is His holy work and which attests to His artistic creativity:

7. The ziggurat was a particular structure dating from Sumerian times (*c*. 3000-2000 B.C.). Symbolising the "cosmic mountain," it was flat-roofed and erected in honour of a deity. It continued to be built in Assyrian times (*c*. 2000-*c*. 612 B.C.). It was not a tomb, whereby it differed from the Pyramids.

8. *Reconstruction*, p. 196.

9. Ibid., p. 197.

10. That is, prior to the time of writing, invented *c*. 3200-2900 B.C., known as the "Proto-Literate" Era, comprising the Jemdet Nasr phase.

"The mountains, the sea, and the sunset!
I saw there God without any veils."[11]

It is in His creation that Allah can be seen. Consequently, creation and life—itself a part thereof—cannot be independent of the Creator. Iqbāl wrote more philosophically on this subject:

"The universe cannot be regarded as an independent reality standing in opposition to Him. [Why not?] This view of the matter will reduce both God and the world to two separate entities confronting each other in the empty receptacle of an infinite space."[12]

This intellectual statement sharply contrasts in form with such poetic renderings as:

"What sweet delight, dear Lord, to live, to be?
Each atom's heart pulses with radiant glee,
The rosebud, bursting through the rose's stem,
Glows with the smile of living ecstasy."[13]

These verses as so many others[14] not only mean to convey Iqbāl's love of Nature; they were written to open his compatriots' eyes to the beauties of Allah's creation wherein He can be "seen"[15] so as to engender in them lust to live and make them aware that life and Nature are God's gifts. It is wrong to think, therefore, that Nature and profane life are taboo. "There is no such thing as a profane world" fully agrees with the Prophet's saying: "The whole of the earth is a mosque."[16] The mundane and the religious arenas form an integrate unity. Dr Iqbāl hoped that his stressing the theme that Nature and secular life form part of the Divine Order would give his people a new vision of the temporal world and cause them to become active. "Such vision doubtless means

11. *JN.* p. 188, as quoted by S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 192.

12. *Reconstruction*, p. 65.

13. *PM*, p. 21; Vahid, op. cit., p. 191.

14. *Vide JN*, p. 149, for another of his praises of Nature.

15. Iqbāl's thesis that God is manifest in Nature is not monism and neither is his statement that the world is intensive, not extensive, borrowing here from the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza. He meant rather that life's intensiveness implies concentrated involvement on God and human affairs, which must be shared by all men.

16. *Reconstruction*, p. 155.

subconscious readiness"[17] to spring into action, which, in turn, implies human development and creativity by effecting change. He thus linked the theme of Divine with that of human creative activity, spiritual in nature because God is its source and because it occurs in His own world. The parallel between Divinity and man is chiselled in these few sentences:

"To conceive the Ultimate Ego as changeless . . . is to conceive Him as utter inaction, a motiveless, stagnant neutrality, an absolute nothing. To the Creative Self change cannot mean imperfection. The perfection of the creative self consists . . . in the vaster basis of His creative activity and the infinite scope of His creative vision. God's life is self-revelation, not the pursuit of an ideal to be reached."[18]

God "exists in pure duration wherein change ceases to be a succession of varying attitudes, and reveals its true character as continuous creation." Divinity's nature is not static, immobile; it expresses itself in "creative activity," wherein lies His perfection. It is another sophisticated way of saying that Allah does not will inertia, which His creation makes plain. It also conveys Iqbāl's view that "the creative activity of God is ceaseless".[19] This view seems un-Qur'ānic, because it does not accept the traditional dectrine that once creation had taken place, it was ended.[20] Iqbāl tried to distinguish, however, between the event of the world's creation and its innate creative pull. Rejecting the cyclical doctrine to which Hinduism and Buddhism subscribe despite his awareness of Nature's repetitive seasons, he stressed those changes not readily seen except by geologists and those in

17. Ibid., p. 26. 18. Ibid., p. 60. 19. Ibid., p. 68.

20. Qur'ān, xxxii. 4, stating that creation occurred "in six Days"; cf. Note 3632 in 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī's translation of the Qur'ān, p. 1092, and xxxii. 5, where one day is reckoned "(as) a thousand years" and lxx. 4, where one day is said to cover "fifty thousand years". They mean undoubtedly the ages within the created order. Cf. also "Bible and Qur'ān on Concept of Creation" by Abdul Samad Sharafuddin, in *Islamic Literature* (Lahore), Vol. XVI, No. 4 (April 1970), pp 49-64, particularly pp. 58 ff. under heading "Six Days of Creation". The Qur'ānic view supports the Darwinian theory of evolution, according to Mr Sharafuddin, who presents a modernist interpretation. Cf. *Reconstruction*, pp. 133 ff.

related sciences, viz. islands disappear, others emerge for shorter or longer periods, sometimes rivers forge new beds and even alter their course, etc. He thus could, as he did, insist that his non-static doctrine of creation is attested by Nature and even Qur'ānic. Citing as proof Sūrah "25 : 60" and "54 : 50," he said that they allude "to the serial and non-serial aspects of duration" and, furthermore:

"If we look at the movement embodied in creation from the outside, that is to say, if we apprehend it intellectually, it is a process lasting through thousands of years; for one Divine day, in the terminology of the Quran, as of the Old Testament, is equal to 1,000 years. From another point of view the process of creation, lasting through thousands of years, is a single indivisable act, 'swift as the twinkling of an eye'. It is, however, impossible to express this inner experience of pure duration in words, for language is shaped on the serial time of our daily efficient-self."[21]

His reference to creative movement "lasting through thousands of years" expresses well the reform view that innately it is an ongoing unending process. He also stresses thereby that Divinity continues to express Himself creatively through Nature wherein man apprehends his Creator's real character. Two parallelisms respectively relating to the will and creative activity appear: Since God willed Creation, which is biblical doctrine,[22] and implanted the will in his creatures, man has no valid reason for not willing to "create a new world";[23] as the Qur'ān says: "Even as We produced the first Creation, so shall We produce a new one: a promise We have undertaken; truly shall We fulfil it" (part of xxi. 104). Man is morally obligated to His Creator to co-operate with Him in bringing it about. Such a thesis connects well with the biblical doctrine of vicegerency,[24] according to which the human being is given charge over God's

21. *Reconstruction*, p. 48. Respectively xxv. 58-59 and liv. 49-50 in the Qur'ān.

22. ii. 117, for instance.

23. Note 2758, p. 846, of 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī's translation of the Qur'ān: "If God created all this world out of nothing, He can create an entirely new heaven and a new earth" according to His promise.

24. ii. 30, for example.

creation. It implies activity, and thus leads to the second parallelism: Allah forever being active, there is no justification for His vicegerents to sit idly by without correcting their bad situation about which they moan constantly rather than taking decisive action whereby they would be creating a better world for themselves. They then would be following the example and obeying the will of the Supreme Being, Whom Iqbāl equally called "Ultimate Reality," "Ultimate Ego," and defined Him as "essentially spirit".[25] The Qur'ān states that Allah, when creating man, "breathed into him of My spirit" (xv. 29), carrying the comment by 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī, that it means the planting of "the faculty of Godlike knowledge will, which, if rightly used, would give man superiority over other creatures".[26] To employ will and knowledge rightly needs thought as well as action. Thought has as "its real function . . . to synthesize the elements of experience by employing categories suitable to the various levels which experience presents."[27] Thought directs action and providing for a "synthesis" of experience permits "organic growth". Iqbāl said: "In conscious experience life and thought permeate each other. They form a unity. Thought, therefore, in its true nature, is identical with life." Hence, Iqbāl's term: "unity of consciousness".[28] The Cartesian formula: "I think, therefore I am" (*cogito, ergo sum*)[29] was reformulated by him in terms of: "I think and I act, therefore I am." The synthesis of "the elements of experience," inherent in "the movement of life" and provided by thought, is "progressive" in Nature. Implied is Hegel's dialectical doctrine of thesis (Reality, God), antithesis (derivatory, viz. man) and

25. *Reconstruction*, p. 71.

26. 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī's translation of the Qur'ān, Note 1698, p. 643

27. *Reconstruction*, p. 52.

28. Ibid.

29. Rene Descartes (1596-1650), French-born philosopher and mathematician who lived in Holland (1619-1649), and wrote his famous *Discourse on Method* (1637), *Principiae Philosophiae* (1644), etc. His formula given above is subjectivistic. He partly presented a mechanistic system. He influenced many later philosophers, among them Spinoza.

synthesis (God and man),[30] which take place on ever higher spiritual planes in history until the created order reaches the final stage of perfection (the millennium), whereby history merges into non-history. "Without this synthesis," wrote Dr Iqbāl, life's movement "will cease to be organic growth. It is determined by ends, and the presence of ends means that it is permeated by intelligence. Nor is the activity of intelligence possible without the presence of ends." The word "intelligence" refers to Divinity's which permeates the world and to man's which is given him by His Creator Their purpose is the same: salvation. To attain it, acts are necessary. "Life is only a series of acts of attention, and an act of attention is inexplicable without reference to a purpose, conscious or unconscious. Even our acts of perception are determined by our immediate interests and purposes."[31] The word "immediate" gives the political keynote. Salvation for Dr Iqbāl is effected on the mundane and on the trans-mundane plane; it has in his thought a pragmatic and a non-utilitarian aspect, but he invests the first with an equally strong religious meaning. Activity in the world is spiritual to him, because it flows forth from the Divine nature and will as manifest in Nature. Although it is purposeful, it is not fixed or predetermined, allowing man to sift his experiences, reflect upon them, and change his directive actions as the historical situation demands. Iqbāl thus could say "that the unity of consciousness has a forward aspect also."[32] This "forward aspect" implying "the purposive processes of growth and adaptation to its environment,"[33] which is a non-mechanistic philosophy of life, occurs in time. "Purposes colour not only our present states of consciousness, but also reveal its future direction. In fact, they constitute the forward push of our life, and thus in a way anticipate and influence the states that are yet to be."[34] This important sentence can serve as a bridge to Iqbāl's doctrine of *time*.

30. Parallelistic is Iqbāl's acceptance or the three stages of development.

31. *Reconstruction*, p. 52, for quotations in this section.

32. Ibid., p. 52. 33. Ibid., p. 44.

34. Ibid., p. 53.

What did he say about it? First, "that the universe persists in time is not open to doubt."[35] The problem is how to define time. He talked about "serial" and "pure time," about "duration" and the "eternal now". What did he mean? By "serial time" he meant time in its external aspect of "change and movement,"[36] and "which we predicate long and short. It is distinguishable from space." This is the time in which "the efficient self . . . the practical self of daily life" exists, "dealing with the external order of things which determine our passing states of consciousness and stamp on these states their own spatial feature of mutual isolation."[37] Such "states of consciousness" exist in "a series of 'nows'.[38] There is, however, "a single 'now,'" wherein lives the inner or "appreciative self," of which "our absorption in the external order of things, necessitated by our present situation," makes "it . . . extremely difficult to catch a glimpse."[39] In the "single now," there also "is change and movement, but this change and movement are indivisible: their elements inter-penetrate and are wholly non-serial in character. It appears that the time of the appreciative self is a single 'now' which the efficient self, in its traffic with the world of space, pulverizes into a series of 'nows' like pearl beads in a thread. Here is, then, pure duration unadulterated by space. . . . It is, however, impossible to express this inner experience of pure duration in words, for language is shaped on the serial time of our daily efficient self."[40] It is this "appreciative self" which, "then, is more or less corrective of the efficient self, inasmuch as it synthesizes all the 'heres' and 'nows'—the small change of space and time, indispensable to the efficient self—into the coherent wholeness of personality."[41] Having defined serial and non-causal time and, at the same time, giving another psychological statement concerning the self's two natures, Iqbāl continues with defining "pure time" as "an organic whole." tying together past, present and future, which is "an open possibility".

35. Ibid., p. 46. 36. Ibid., p. 48.
37. Ibid., p. 47, for quotations in this section.
38. Ibid., p. 48. 39. Ibid., p. 47.
40. Ibid., p. 48. 41. Ibid., p. 49.

"It is time regarded as an organic whole that the Quran describes as 'Taqdir' or the destiny—a word which has been so much misunderstood both in and outside the world of Islam. Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. It is time freed from the net of causal sequence. . . ."[42]

This statement about time clearly reflects Iqbāl's rejection of a mechanistic doctrine of time as of predestinarianism, for created time does not mean a fixed series of causal events determined in advance. This is why Dr Iqbāl could say:

"Time regarded as destiny forms the very essence of things. . . . The destiny of a thing then is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task master; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion. Thus the organic wholeness of duration does not mean that full-fledged events are lying, as it were, in the womb of Reality, and drop one by one like the grains of sand from the hour-glass. If time is real, and not a mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion, then every moment in the life of Reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable."[43]

This is "real time," which is non-repetitive.

"To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. *In fact, all creative activity is free activity.* Creation is *opposed to repetition which* is a characteristic of mechanical action. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism."[44]

Human life then is seen by Iqbāl as a series of purposeful acts and thoughts freely expressed within time, illumined by the "appreciative self," influencing the ego's future unpredetermined direction.[45] It corresponds to the life of "Ultimate Reality" which is not, as we think erroneously, "pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose inter-penetrate to form an organic unity. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of a self—an all-embracing concrete self—the ultimate source of all

42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 50.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., p. 53.

individual life and thought."[46] Criticising the French philosopher Bergson for presenting a mechanistic universe and "an insurmountable dualism of will and thought,"[47] Iqbāl stressed the unity of time as well as of the self, due to the innate interrelationship between their outer and inner parts, the self and all of creation being set and moving forward in time, the "past and future both operate in the present state of consciousness,"[48] meaning that the past has significance and that the human generations themselves represent a past-present-future direction. The ultimate meaning of time is its carrying creation forward in a non-mechanistic, free, vital way. This "forward push" gives it and history woven of events and time a teleological character. Creation began and continues through the directive energy of God (Reality), to be aided by man as His vicegerent, and may end when He so determines it and decides to create a new world. It will end with the Judgment Day ushering in the millennium. This signifies a return to a primordial era. In the meantime, the "Eternal Now" which is the ontological state of Reality (Being) faintly pierces through the serial "nows" which reveal the three levels of "matte," "life" and "mind and consciousness."[49] As the ego travels through "space-time," he becomes spiritualised. It is an internal psychological process aided by thought and action occurring in time. The substance of time is movement, that of space is matter, which Einstein proved to be energy, viz. matter transforms into energy and *vice versa*. Matter formerly seen as solid substance now came to be considered a dynamic force. Iqbāl was sharply aware of the implications of such a theory; it buttressed his insistence that man is a dynamic being. His statement that "mind and body become one in action"[50] means precisely that both are energy-filled, so that the human cannot but act, for in a sense activity is an essential part of his being. Against this interpretation of Einstein's theory, Dr Iqbāl's total repudiation of passivity becomes the clearer, because inertia is seen as being totally contrary to man's innate nature. That is

46. Ibid., p. 55.
47. Ibid., p. 52.
48. Ibid., p. 53.
49. Ibid., p. 31.
50. Ibid., p. 105.

also why Iqbāl could hold that thought and action are one, for thought is not static according to his reinterpretation of the above-mentioned theory. Trying to prove as he did so often Islam's superiority, he said on this subject that "the verdict of modern science is exactly the same as that of the Ash'arite, for recent discoveries in physics regarding the nature of time assume the discontinuity of matter."[51] Continuing to discuss the various aspects of modern atomism, he took the fact that "the atom possesses inseparable positive or negative qualities," which "exist in opposed couples, as life and death, motion and rest" as proof of his "two propositions":

"(*i*) Nothing has a stable nature, [wherein he is a thorough modernist].

"(*ii*) There is a single order of atoms, *i.e.*, what we call the soul is either a finer kind of matter, or only an accident. I am inclined to think that in view of the idea of continuous creation which the Ash'arite intended to establish there is an element of truth in the first proposition."[52]

He then uses this first proposition as further proof of his theory of creation which is found also in the Ash'arite creation doctrine. "I regard the Ash'arite thought on this point as a genuine effort to develop on the basis of an Ultimate Will or Energy a theory of creation which, with all its shortcomings, is far more true to the spirit of the Quran than the Aristotelian idea of a fixed universe."[53] That explains why "there is nothing static in my inner life; all is a constant mobility, an unceasing flux of states, a perpetual flow in which there is no halt or resting place."[54] Since change takes place in time and time itself is definable in terms of motion, so that "change and movement are indivisible,"[55] as well as of space, making space and time indistinguishable, Iqbāl may have feared that the doctrine of relativity, as Einstein's atomic theory also is called, denies reality to time, making it a dimension of space. This would mean that the future is fixed.[56]

51. Ibid., p. 74; pp. 67 ff. for his discussion of the Ash'arite "atomic" theory.
52. Ibid., p. 70.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 47.
55. Ibid., p. 48.
56. Cf. also M.R. Siddiqi. "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space," *Iqbal As A Thinker* (Lahore; 1944, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf).

"The universe, according to Einstein, is not a kind of island in an infinite space; it is finite but boundless; beyond it there is no empty space. In the absence of matter the universe would shrink to a point. Looking, however, at the theory from the standpoint that I have taken in these lectures, Einstein's Relativity presents one great difficulty, *i.e., the unreality of time.* A theory which takes time to be a kind of fourth dimension of space must, it seems, regard the future as something already given, as indubitably fixed as the past. *Time as a free creative movement has no meaning for the theory.*" [57]

Stating that Einstein's theory of time is neither "Bergson's pure duration" nor "serial time," he said: "It appears to me that time regarded as a fourth dimension of space really ceases to be time." [58] If he could not accept the implications of such a theory, he nevertheless seems to have imbibed it in so far as he, too, regarded time and space as relative terms. They are relative terms because they differ according to the "states" of consciousness and focal viewpoint.

"Moreover, as we have seen before, temporal and spatial infinities are not absolute. Modern science regards Nature not as something static, situate in an infinite void, but a structure of inter-related events out of whose mutual relations arise the concepts of space and time. And this is only another way of saying that *space and time are interpretations which thought puts upon the creative activity of the Ultimate Ego.* Space and time are possibilities of the Ego, only partially realized in the shape of our mathematical space and time." [59]

With reference to Deity's inner being, space and time have no meaning; created by Him, they are external interpretative categories. As Professor Siddiqi acutely has observed, "Iqbal has brought out" the relative character of space-time "in the description of the angel 'Zarwan,' who takes him to a journey of the heavens".[60] In this section of the *Jāvīd Nāmah,* he states that the "'M'iraj is just a change in consciousness.'" [61] The subject is immense in scope and highly problematic. Suffice it to say that

57. *Reconstruction*, pp. 38-39. Italics ours.
58. Ibid., p. 39.
59. Ibid., p. 64. Italics ours.
60. Siddiqi, art. cit., p. 25.
61. *JN*, pp. 19-22.

Iqbāl inimitably fused the Western theory of atomic energy with the Muslim doctrine of Divine activity diffused throughout the universe. He also included the Qur'ānic thesis that the Spirit of God is energy, which carries the subject back to the beginnings of man's thought when he believed that creation was not inert, but filled with *mana* or dynamic power.[62] In presenting the space-time-creation subject, Iqbāl at the same time gave his definition of Deity.

Describing Allah also as the "Ultimate self," He is distinct from man because He is integrated, viz. one, in His nature,[63] has no need of and is independent of the world. "His 'I-amness' is independent, elemental, absolute. Of such a self it is impossible for us to form an adequate conception."[64] Reiterating here Kant's doctrine of the *noumenon*, meaning that God only discloses His external character to man, Iqbāl says that Divinity expresses its "mode of behaviour" through radiant Nature.[65] "It [Nature] is a structure of events, a systematic mode of behaviour, and as such organic to the Ultimate Self Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self."[66] It being the expression of Divine creativity, which to Iqbāl is Allah's innate character, he stated:

"Nature, then, must be understood as a living, ever-growing organism whose growth has no final external limits. Its only limit is internal, *i.e.*, the immanent self which animates and sustains the whole. As the Quran says: 'And verily unto thy Lord is the limit' (50 : 14). Thus the view that we have taken gives a fresh spiritual meaning to physical science. The knowledge of Nature is the knowledge of God's behaviour. In our observation of Nature we are virtually seeking a kind of intimacy with the Absolute Ego; and this is only another form of worship."[67]

62. *Mana* is a Polynesian term; the Peruvian word *huaca* and the Sioux Dakota Indians' *wakan* have the same meaning; so does the old Hebrew name *El-ohim* for God. The idea of a dynamic universe is present also in the modern English word : *el*-ectricity.

63. Sūrah cxii. entitled "Ikhlāṣ" or Purity (of Faith) as also "The Unity" is the classic sūrah on this subject. The Qur'ān contains many references to God's unity, viz. v. 75, 76 ; iii. 64, *et al.*

64. *Reconstruction*, p. 56.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

In other words, man "encounters" God in Nature, which, being His creation, is sacred. Iqbāl thus opposed strongly the thesis that it is only in the Qur'ān's recitation that the human meets Divinity. He insisted that history and nature have meaning and that obedience as stated implies, not the uttering of certain formulae intended to carry the believer momentarily beyond history and blind him to his actual condition, but the taking of decisive action within history. He was not un-Qur'ānic in his thesis.

Finally, the distinction between the Creator and man is that no change can be "predicated of the Ultimate Ego." [68] That is, God being perfect, and "serial change . . . obviously a mark of imperfection," such a "view of change" does not apply. Neither does the view that change means "a movement from an imperfect to a relatively perfect state, or *vice versa*, [which] is obviously inapplicable to His life." [69] Although the "ultimate Ego exists in pure duration," it "reveals its true character as continuous creation". "To the creative self change cannot mean imperfection. The perfection of the Creative Self consists, not in a mechanistically conceived immobility. . . . It consists in the vaster basis of His creative activity and the infinite scope of His creative vision. God's life is self-revelation, not the pursuit of an ideal to be reached." [70] Dr Iqbāl had his reason, of course, why he stressed that God does not reject change, even though He does not live, unlike man, in a changing world. Change *per se* is not imperfect, for it is part of His creative activity as seen in Nature. The idea of imperfection relates to the conception of human life as a path of purification (*via purgativa*). While this last notion is derived from mysticism, in Iqbāl's thought life rather is a path of renovation. [71] Activity for Iqbāl then may be said to be a purgative way inasmuch as it means the shedding of a passive behaviour-pattern and erroneous ideas about movement and leads to a reconstruction of Muslim thought and life. Iqbāl's philosophy of life runs counter to that Muslim theory

68. Ibid., p. 58. 69. Ibid., p 59. 70. Ibid., p. 60.

71. He is indebted to the reformist Shah Walī Ullāh (1702-1762). Cf. *Reconstruction*, p. 97, where he is mentioned.

which says that history is not "inherently meaningful". He said, in effect, that the outcome of hisṭory depends on man and not exclusively on God, which view he branded as un-Qur'ānic. History belongs in the final analysis to the Divinely-created order. *It* is the stage of man's psychological, spiritual and political (material) evolution. It becomes sacralised, therefore, not only by recitation of the Qur'ān, but by action on which human redemption depends.

3

IQBĀL'S CONCEPT OF THE SELF

In Iqbāl's thought salvation is tied closely to his conception of history and time. It is through and in time that personality development occurs. "Time cannot be wholly irrelevant to the development of personality. Character tends to become permanent; its reshaping must require time."[1] Various factors cause the "reshaping" of the personality: love, faith, a breakdown, contact with the broader stream of peoples and cultures, activities which serve as a release. Various questions pertaining to Dr Iqbāl's salvation doctrine emerge: (1) What did he mean by "personality"? (2) How did he view experience? (3) What constitutes redemption for him?

(1) *What did Muḥammad Iqbāl mean by "personality"?* Another term which he frequently used for it is the Latin "ego," usually translated as "I" or "self". Does it mean "feeling, self-identity, soul, will?"[2] He complained in his *Payām-i-Mashriq*: "You never taught me what is this called I."[3] In his *Reconstruction*, he referred to al-Ghazālī who maintained that "the ego is a simple, indivisible, and immutable soul-substance, entirely different from the group of our mental states and unaffected by the passage of time."[4] For this great medieval theologian, the ego is, in other words, an eternal immutable entity constituting the very essence of man. Did Iqbāl agree with al-Ghazālī's definition of the ego? "The interest of this school, however, was not," he wrote, "so much psychological as metaphysical."[5] We

1. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: 1944, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 123.

2. Ibid., p. 98

3. *PM*, p. 150, "Life and Strife" (In reply to a Poem by Heins)". Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), German poet and dramatist.

4. *Reconstruction*, p. 100.

5. Ibid.

glimpse one clue to Iqbāl's definition of the ego in his answer which stresses the *psyche* in conformity with the nineteenth-century schools of psychology. His preference for the "psychological" above the "metaphysical" attempt in trying to define the "soul" had three aims: to revive it, to deepen it through its own experience and to overcome disrespect for man. This caused Iqbāl to search for a word "having no ethical significance". He finally chose the term "Khudī". His following explanation about the meaning he attached to it furnishes another clue:

"Thus metaphysically the word *Khudī* is used in the sense of that indescribable feeling of 'I,' which forms the basis of the uniqueness of each individual. Metaphysically it does not convey any ethical significance for those who cannot get rid of its ethical significance. . . . Ethically the word *Khudī* means (as used by me) self-reliance, self-respect, self-confidence, self-preservation, even self-assertion when such a thing is necessary, in the interests of life and the power to stick to the cause of truth, justice, duty, etc., etc., even in the face of death." [6]

He reiterated as late as 1937, that is, one year before his death, his thesis that "personality" which "is the central fact of the uninverse" is "the central fact in the constitution of man." [7] The parallelism between Divine and human "being-ness" is intended to indicate that, despite being created, man has uniqueness as does God and that the unity of the Divine nature and of man as symbolised by the *Millat* does not sweep away the individuality and meaning of each ego. The self's meaning deepens through his active participation in life which is possible because life and the ego both consist mainly of energy modes as does God, which permitted Iqbāl to say that Divine Life implies "His creative

6. "Note on Nietzsche," dictated by Iqbāl to Mr Nazir Niyazi in the summer of 1937, *vide* S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1964, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 243-44. Cf. Hafiz Malik. "Iqbal's Conception of Ego," in *The Muslim World*, Connecticut, Vol. LX, No. 2, April 1970, pp. 160-69. He writes (in ibid, p. 161: "In Persian and Urdu literature the word Khudi has been used to mean vanity, arrogance and haughtiness."

7. Vahid, op. cit., p. 238. He expressed this view in 1937 to Mr Nazir Niyazi. It is, therefore, a very late reiteration of his view on man and again shows that he did not change this idea during the decades intervening between *AK* and his final years.

activity."[8] He, therefore, did not favour a definition either of the "Supreme Ego" or the Human "self" in substantive terms. The "static view of substance" cannot "serve any psychological interest."[9] One principal reason for this statement is, of course, his rejection of statism. Another is that "it is difficult to regard the elements of our conscious experience as qualities of a soul-substance in the sense in which, for instance, the weight of a physical body is the quality of that body."[10] He meant that the soul being unlike the body cannot be defined in terms appropriate to the physical form.[11] Even accepting that "conscious experience" is part of soul-life, it does not follow that soul-life can be equated with such experience. "Thus we see that our conscious experience can give us no clue to the ego regarded as a soul-substance; for by hypothesis the soul-substance does not reveal itself in experience. . . . Yet the interpretation of our conscious experience is the only road by which we can reach the ego, if at all."[12] The ego cannot be defined in terms of "experience" despite the fact that "inner experience is the ego at work". In fact, the ego is involved in life ("environment") so that it (life) interpenetrates the ego. "The ego does not stand outside this arena of mutual invasion. It is present in it as a directive energy and is formed and disciplined by its own experience."[13] No definition of the ego has been given so far. What is it? Iqbāl finally answered this question by saying "that the soul must be taken as something individual and specific, with all the variations in the range, balance, and effectiveness of its unity."[14] To give force to his statement, he quotes from the Qur'ān: "Every man acteth after his own manner: but your Lord well knoweth who is best guided in his path."[15] The terms "every man," "your Lord" and "who" are meaningless unless they refer to

8. *Reconstruction*, p. 61.

9. Ibid., p. 101.

10. Ibid.

11. Iqbāl did not enter here into a discussion about the consequences of atomistic theory, although it is implied in this theme.

12. *Reconstruction*, pp. 101-02.

13. Ibid., p. 102, for quotations in this section.

14. Ibid., p. 103, for quotations in this section.

15. xvii, 84.

specific persons. Is this a clear definition of the self? Would it not be a contradiction to other statements, viz. that the self is *not* a substance? Indeed, he continues with the following description in explanation of the cited Qur'ānic verse: "Thus my real personality is not a thing; it is an act." This is Dr Iqbāl's answer to the question: What is the ego? For him the soul is not a substance; it consists of "a series of acts" which form its "experience" and which are "held together by the unity of a directive purpose."[16] Therein lies the personality's reality.

"My whole reality lies in my directive attitude. You cannot perceive me like a thing in space, or a set of experiences in temporal order; you must interpret, understand and appreciate me in my judgments, in my will-attitudes, aims and aspirations."[17]

(2) *How did Iqbāl view experience?* In his lecture on "The Human Ego, His Freedom and Impartality," he states:

"Observation reveals experience to be particular acts of reference, and as such they possess a specific being of their own. They constitute . . . 'a new world and not merely new features in an old world ' Secondly, even if we regard experiences as qualities, we cannot discover how they inhere in the soul-substance."[18]

That is why he could say "that our conscious experience can give us no clue to the ego" despite the fact that it "is the only road by which we can reach the ego, if at all."[19]

How does one interpret "our conscious experience"? Iqbāl stated that "William James conceives consciousness as 'stream of thought'—a conscious flow of changes with a felt continuity."[20] He rejects this thesis, for various reasons. He regarded the idea that feelings are "part of the system of thought" so that its past and present aspects form "an indivisible unity," because he held that that which is past is lost.[21] Calling James's presentation

16. *Reconstruction*, p. 103.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid , p. 101. Cf. ibid , p. 196
19. Ibid., pp. 101-02.
20. Ibid., p. 102. William James (1842-1910), American psychologist and philosopher, a founder of Pragmatism.
21. He does not follow here the thesis of the psychologist Carl Gustav Jung.

"ingenious," he criticised it, because it tears consciousness, which is "single," into "bits".[22] What he meant is that through the ego's directive purpose, all of its experiences are integrated into a specific forward direction. There is another reason why he defined "consciousness" and the ego in terms of "acts": the latter are spontaneous in nature in so far as they pertain to the "self" and not to the body. "The characteristic of the ego is spontaneity; the acts composing the body repeat themselves."[23] This sentence juxtaposes the non-mechanistic and mechanistic forms of individual life wherein consists the main distinction between body and soul. Referring to "the evolution of life" during which "the mental, as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical," he stated that it "may eventually rise to a position of complete independence. Nor is there such a thing as a purely physical level in the sense of possessing a materiality, elementally incapable of evolving the creative synathesis we call life and mind, and needing a transcendental deity to impregnate it with the sentient and the mental."[24] Rejecting the substantive viewpoint, Iqbāl subscribed to a "systhesis" of "life and mind" because both are energy-filled. He repudiated atomic materialism which forms the basis of modern science" because "such a view could not but raise a strong presumption in favour of a mechanistic interpretation of consciousness."[25] This erroneous intellectual approach denies spontaneity to human acts which form the content of the self's life and experience. They reflect the nature of life, be it of the individual or of a society, which reflects "variety and change" or movement.[26] Therefore, "conscious experience," which is individual as well as collective, cannot be typified as static. It is not the nature of Reality as revealed to man in the world. The "experience" of Reality (God) being dynamic in terms of *acts* of creation continued through time, "a society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foot-

22. *Reconstruction*, p. 102.
23. Ibid., p. 106.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 107.
26. Ibid., p. 147.

hold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they were understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature."[27] The acts themselves become stymied, experience dries up, and a society decays. Iqbāl's philosophy of history contains then a deep psychological basis. By calling "the system of experiences . . . soul or ego" which "is also a system of acts,"[28] he gave not only his definition both of ego and of experience, but he also presented a causal picture in psychological lines by showing how acts and experiences "shape" the ego and life. Giving it a non-mechanistic setting, he advocated a "vital way of appropriating the universe," called *Īmān* in the Qur'ān. "Iman is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind; it is living assurance begotten of a rare experience."[29] The "living assurance" not only refers to God's promise of a better life, but to "self-assertion" which Iqbāl offered as one difinition of *Khudī*.

"A Perfect Man's arm is really God's arm,
Dominant, creative, resourceful, efficient. . . ."[30]

It was for him the saint who has gained "in self-possession, in uniqueness, and intensity of his activity as an ego."[31] While this growth occurs in life, which "offers a scope for ego-activity," it leads towards salvation.

(3) *What constituted salvation for Iqbāl?* It would be easy to answer this question in the usually accepted way: the rise to Paradise after a pious life on earth. As the Qur'ān teaches (xv. 45-46): "The righteous (will be) amid Gardens and fountains" [and will be greeted by] "'Enter ye here in Peace and Security.'"[32] Dr Iqbāl himself acknowledged the difficulty of answering that question:

27. Ibid., pp. 147-48. 2 . Ibid , p. 106.
29. Ibid., p. 109.
30. *BJ*, p. 132, as quoted by S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 135.
31. *Reconstruction*, p. 117.
32. Cf. xi. 23 ; xi. 22 for the sinners.

"No age has produced so much literature on the question of immortality as our own, and this literature is continually increasing in spite of the victories of modern Materialism. Purely metaphysical arguments, however, cannot give us a positive belief in personal immortality."[33]

He rejected the monism of Ibn Rushd (Averroes, 1126-1198), whose "dualism" between intelligence, centred in the soul of mind, and the body makes the former transcend individuality, giving it eternity, unity and universality, thereby reducing multiplicity to a single unitary system. "In fact Ibn-i-Rushd's view looks like William James' suggestion of a transcendental mechanism of consciousness which operates on a physical medium for a while, and then gives it up in pure sport."[34] Although Iqbāl does not invalidate fully Renan's thesis that "the eternal unity of intellect may mean . . . the everlastingness of humanity and civilization," he adds: "It does not surely mean personal immortality." He then continues by saying:

"In modern times the line of argument for personal immortality is on the whole ethical. But ethical arguments, such as that of Kant, and the modern revisions of his arguments, depend on a kind of faith in the fulfilment of the claims of justice, or in the irreplaceable and unique work of man as an individual pursuer of infinite ideals. With Kant immortality is beyond the scope of speculative reason: it is a postulate of practical reason, an axiom of man's moral consciousness."[35]

Iqbāl's reason for criticising Ibn Rushd was his desire to stress individual immortality which he linked to personal effort. He thus reduced the collective (the idea of Man) to the pluralistic (men).[36] His strong conviction that the unitary character results from the cohabitation and conjoint efforts of its individual components explains his emphasis and his anti-socialistic *political* view.[37] Socialism tends to see society as one single entity whose

33. *Reconstruction*, p. 111. Cf. *BD*, pp. 259, 264 *re* his statement that death is insignificant.

34. *Reconstruction*, p. 112.

35. Ibid.

36. Cf. *BD*, p. 84, where he stresses diversity amidst unity.

37. Cf. *Reconstruction*, p. 189, where the phrase "atheistic socialism" is used.

motivations are not always voluntary, but imposed from above; its anti-individualistic or collective orientation reduces life to a mechanistic and autocratic form. Insisting on individualism and democracy, Iqbāl obviously could not support any contrary viewpoint or system. His rejection of Kant's "moral imperative" is based on the German philosopher's artificial attempt to unify "the mutually exclusive notions of virtue and happiness" through God. Iqbāl cites the "inconclusiveness of metaphysical arguments"[38] as another reason why he repudiated Kant's and similar theories of immortality, which he (Iqbāl) regarded primarily as religio-psychological subject and which for him had political overtones as shall be seen. He equally criticised Nietzsche's doctrine of Eternal Recurrence, because:

"On Nietzsche's view the order of happenings in the universe must be fixed and unalterable; for since an infinite time has passed, the energy-centres must have, by this time, formed certain definite modes of behaviour. The very word 'Recurrence' implies this fixity. . . . Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence . . . is only a more rigid kind of mechanism, based not on an ascertained fact but only on a working hypothesis of science."[39]

The mechanistic substance of Nietzsche's doctrine, involving also the repetition of events, did not find favour with Iqbāl. His negating the worth of these Western and some Muslim philosophers is followed by his return to the Qur'ān,[40] whose relevant verses he interprets in a way to suit his own immortality doctrine. It is very complex, because it involves the psychological, the actional, the intellectual and the spiritual—all of which form a unity in his thought. As the psychological and the actional have been discussed in some detail, the following summary will suffice.

The ego is a body-soul unit. Its behaviour pattern consists of energy modes determined by thought defined by Iqbāl as a series of "attitudes". The ego has two parts: the "efficient" or external self engaged in the world and the "appreciative" or internal self engrossed in spiritual "activity". The "appreciative" self living nearer to Divinity aids the "efficient" self in gaining deeper insight about its tasks and obligations to Deity. The

38. Ibid., p. 113. 39. Ibid., p. 115.
40. Ibid., pp. 116-23.

"efficient" ego's involvement in life, viz. in a "temporal career,"[41] means that it must be in motion, that is in continuous action, which is the character of life, itself part of creation revealing, in turn, Divinity's continued creative activity. The "efficient" self therefore must take a "pragmatic" view of life, while the "appreciative" self takes a "cognitive" approach.[42] The first is based "on a real human experience"; the second can be described as "the attitude of the mind"[43] and underlies "the act of worship" known as "prayer".[44] "In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature."[45] This statement implies that intellectuality must be coupled with piety resulting from love for God. That love and the intellect are necessary ingredients in the life of man is another fundamental aspect of Dr Iqbāl's thought.

> "When Love joins forces with Intellect
> It can achieve a new world."[46]

He juxtaposed these two broad themes for two reasons: to assure a worthy place to rationalism in spite of his preoccupation with the theme of love; to prevent a materialist-scientific outlook devoid of warmth and of piety, which is one reason for his stress on love. Another noted reason is his psychological approach to the problems of redemption: love of self must be engendered to release vitality.

> "Knowledge without Love is from the Devil
> Knowledge with Love is Divine."[47]

41. Ibid., p. 88.
42. Ibid., p. 89.
43. Ibid., p. 90.
44. Ibid., pp. 90-91.
45. Ibid., p. 91.
46. *JN*, p. 71; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 110.
47. *JN*, pp. 82-83; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 149. Cf. *PM*, p. 246: "Intellect is from Devil and Love from Adam." Quoted in Vahid, p. 54.

4

IQBĀL'S CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE

What did Iqbāl mean by "Knowledge"? Elcidauting the relationship of knowledge, gained through Intellect and that gained though Love or Intuition, Iqbāl wrote to K. G. Saiyidain:

"I have generally used the word 'knowledge' in the sense of *knowledge based on the senses*. It gives power which should be subordinated to Religion. If it is not subordinated to religion it is a Satanic force. This knowledge is the first step to true knowledge, as I have pointed out in *Javid Nama*.

"'The knowledge of Truth is gained first through the senses and then through direct realization. Its ultimate stages cannot be encompassed with consciousness.'

"Knowledge which cannot be circumscribed within consciousness and which is the final stage of Truth is also called Love or Intuition.

"'Intellect, divorced from Love, is a rebel (like Satan), while Intellect, wedded to Love, has divine attributes.'"[1]

The intellect is necessary, because it formulates ideas, grasps their meaning, assesses their worth, makes, examines and executes plans. Although intellectual activity can be swayed by the emotions, it tends to be objective, while love forming part of religious feeling is emotional. The mind where the ideas take root gives direction thereto[2] so that there is an "organic relation" between "feeling and idea,"[3] the former underlying religion, the latter composing "the scientific form of mind".[4] Consequently,

"while religion starts with feeling, it has never, in its history, taken itself as a matter of feeling alone and has constantly

1. K.G. Saiyidain, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* (Lahore: 1971, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), pp. 89-90 Cf. *BD*, p. 28.

2. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: 1944, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 21.

3. Ibid., p. 22.

4. Ibid., p. 25.

striven after metaphysics. The mystic's condemnation of intellect as an organ of knowledge does not really find any justification in the history of religion." [5]

Our author decried mental as he did all other forms of slavery and time and again held most mystics and the religious leadership responsible for it, as this passage indicates. It is proven also by what he said in one of his *Lectures*: "The mystic's condemnation of intellect as an organ of knowledge does not really find any justification in the history of religion."[6] The "spirit of total other-worldliness in later Sufism obscured men's vision of a very important aspect of Islam as a social polity." Its "speculative side . . . attracted and finally absorbed the best minds in Islam. The Muslim State was thus left generally in the hands of intellectual mediocrities," resulting in its peoples' blind acceptance of authority and their decay.[7] He drew the distinction between philosophy and religion, because the former is based on the intellectual "by which I mean critical interpretation" and is pragmatic, while the latter is derived from "concrete experience"; the first is the philosopher's, the second is the prophet's, domain. "Religious experience, I have tried to maintain, is essentially a state of feeling with a cognitive aspect, the content of which cannot be communicated to others, except in the form of a judgment." The question is: "what is the guarantee of its truth? Are we in possession of a test which would reveal its validity? If personal experience had been the only ground for acceptance of judgment of this kind, religion would have been the possession of a few individuals only." This is "happily" not the case, because "we are in possession of tests which do not differ from those applicable to other forms of knowledge. These I call the intellectual test and the pragmatic test. . . ." The pragmatic test applied by the philosopher judges religious experience "by its fruits".[8] Therein lies one basic difference between religion and intellectual activity; another consists of the fact "that both interpret" different "data of experience. We

5. Ibid., p. 22. 6. Ibid.
7. Ibid , p. 150-51.
8. Ibid., p. 27, for all quotations in this section.

forget that religion aims at reaching the real significance of a special variety of human experience."[9] The "conflict" between religion and knowledge "is due to the misapprehension that both interpret the same data of experience."[10] If that "misapprehension" is cleared away, their "conflict" disappears. Whether the philosophers stress Nature (*phusis*) to which belongs man in the flesh or the theologians concentrate on God (*theos*) to Whom belongs man in the spirit, both in the final analysis deal with the human, bis life and his world.

"The truth is that the religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching the most real. In fact, religion . . . is far more anxious to reach the ultimately real than science."[11]

The reason for it is the emphasis of scientific knowledge which is different from that of religion :

"Knowledge seeks delight from investigation,
Love seeks delight from creation.
Knowledge has its origin in intellect,
Love has its seat in the wide-awake heart."[12]

He had written earlier in the *Asrār-i-Khudī*: "Modern knowledge is the greatest blind,"[13] but he stated in one of his 1928 *Lectures*: "Knowledge must begin with the concrete. It is the intellectual capture of and *power* over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete."[14] Clearly, Iqbāl did not reject the intellectual activity *per se*, but tried to persuade his audiences that its final purpose must be to enlighten man "about the ultimate nature of things".[15] He was not against optometry, surgery, physics, chemistry, which have

9. Ibid , pp. 25-26. 10. Ibid., p. 25. 11. Ibid., pp. 195-96.

12. *JN*, 77 ; S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore : 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 163.

13. R.A. Nicholson, Tr., *The Secret of the Self* (Lahore : 1941, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 129, verse 1477.

14. *Reconstruction*, p. 131.

15. M.R. Siddiqi, "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space," in *Iqbal As A Thinker* (Lahore : 1966, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 30. Cf. article in ibid., pp. 41-96 by K.G. Saiyidain : "Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought."

nothing to do with religion, but warned that scientific pursuits have their limits and that the twentieth-century scientist must have reverence for God, man, life.[16] True learning, true knowledge, meant to Iqbāl to perceive the truth about Reality (God), life, Islam's structure which he defined as movement, viz. "progressive creation".[17] Depending upon the focus, he distinguished between knowledge pertaining to man or to Deity. "The word knowledge, as applied to the finite ego, always means discursive knowledge—a temporal process."[18] How did Iqbāl define knowledge predicated of God? "Divine knowledge must be conceived as a living creative activity" and not as "passive omniscience".[19] It is impossible, "on the view of Divine knowledge as a kind of passive omniscience, to reach the idea of a creator".[20] Since the "Quran has no liking for abstract universals," neither omniscience nor omnipotence can be regarded as such. They otherwise would be limitational and make it "impossible to conceive God as a concrete operating Ego. Omnipotence, abstractly conceived, is merely a blind, capricious power without limits". Concretely, "Divine omnipotence" is "intimately related to Divine Wisdom."[21] Another parallelism, this time between the nature and purpose of Divine and human knowledge, emerges: it is essentially spiritual, creative, non-predestinarian,[22] and aims at wise government. Modern knowledge regretfully is too dependent on the sciences and has lost its spiritual moorings:

"Science, on which prided the wise men of the West, is but a sword of battle in the blood-stained grip of greed."[23]

During his lecture tour, Iqbāl had said:

"experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. This is the reason why pure

16. Dr Iqbāl might have been against abortion unless there were clear evidence of danger to the mother-to-be's life.

17. *Reconstruction*, p. 168.

18. Ibid., p. 77.

19. Ibid., p. 78.

20. Ibid., p. 79.

21. Ibid., p. 80, for quotations in this section.

22. Ibid., p. 79.

23. Saiyidain, op. cit., p. 69.

thought has so little influenced men while religion has always elevated individuals, and transformed whole societies. The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life and the result is a perverted ego. . . ."[24]

The sad part is that this Western type of knowledge has pervaded the Islamic world. How can progress and spirituality respectively be achieved and retained? Iqbāl answered this question as follows:

"The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us."[25]

The call for *ijtihād*[26] echoes through this passage. He alluded to it often, stating that neither "worn-out ideas" nor modern "intellectual knowledge" can counteract "the forces of decay".[27] If the second breeds "ruthless egoism," the first

"taught him [the Muslim] a false renunciation and made him perfectly contented with his ignorance and spiritual thraldom. No wonder then that the modern Muslim in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia is led to seek fresh sources of energy in the creation of new loyalties, such as patriotism and nationalism which Nietzsche described as 'sickness and unreason,' and 'the strongest force against culture.'"[28]

Such is the result of false discursive knowledge; true knowledge "must combine" vision with power "for the spiritual expansion of humanity."[29] It has a salvational purpose and "all search for [this type of] knowledge is essentially a form of prayer."[30] Its religious dimension makes it an act of love. This is not a new theme for Islam, for "in the East Love is the basis of life," while in the West "Intellect is the source of life."[31] Unless the intellect has a religious base, it cannot truly enlighten and uplift humanity. That is the trouble in the West. "Believe me, Europe to-day is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement."[32] He tried to instil at once the need for modern

24. *Reconstruction*, p. 179.
25. Ibid., p 97.
26. Ibid , p. 168.
27. Ibid., p. 151.
28. Ibid., p. 188.
29. Ibid., p. 92.
30. Ibid., p. 91.
31. *JN*, p. 7; Vahid, op. cit., p. 148.
32. *Reconstruction*, p. 179.

knowledge leading to progress and the fear against secularisation ending in despiritualisation. That is why he warned against excessive liberalism, which "has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration."[33] Liberalism thus would have the same result as the stifling of creative thought and activity. That Dr Iqbāl was acutely aware of the problem facing the Islamic world is clear from such statements as: "We heartily welcome the liberal movement in modern Islam; but it must also be admitted that the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical moment in the history of Islam."[34] He said on another occasion: "The task before the modern Muslim is, therefore, immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past."[35] That is possible because Islamic thought is "elastic," universal, and diverse,[36] and has its inner principles, e.g. *ijtihād, istiḥsān, ijmā'*, allowing for its "reconstruction".[37] Having "a revelation," which was given once and forever, as well as a "spiritual basis of life," their own rich intellectual and cultural tradition, the Muslims "ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth."[38] Apart from these facts, there is another: although "the spirit finds its opportunities in the natural, the material, the secular," these are relative terms, because they refer to God's creation and, hence, essentially belong to the spiritual order.[39]

On the basis of his anthropology, including his acceptance of evolution, which he transposed from the biological to the political stage, Iqbāl could maintain in his doctrine of salvation: (*a*) "that the finite ego must be *distinct*, though not *isolated*, from the Infinite,"[40] which theory is non-monistic and guarantees at once individuality and communication with God; (*b*) the finite ego and the infinite ego which are parallelistic to the "efficient self" and the "appreciative self" are one;[41] (*c*) "ego-activity" leads to personal salvation; (*d*) salvation occurs in life which "offers a scope for ego-activity";[42] (*e*) there is no resurrection in the

33. Ibid , pp. 162-63.
34. Ibid., p. 162.
35. Ibid., p. 97. Cf. *RB*, p. 62.
36. *Reconstruction*, p. 164.
37. Ibid., pp. 163 ff.
38. Ibid , pp. 179-80.
39. Ibid., p. 155.
40. Ibid., p. 118.
41. Ibid , p. 118.
42. Ibid., p. 119, for (*c*) and (*d*).

traditional sense of a return to earth[43]—resurrection implies a growth of personality through "ego-sustaining" *versus* "ego-dissolving acts"[44] leading to infinitude: "in view of the past history of man it is highly improbable that his career should come to an end with the dissolution of his body."[45] Despite the fact that the dead do not return, "the nature of the universe is such that it is open to it to maintain in some other way the kind of individuality necessary for the final working out of human action, even after the disintegration of what appears to specify his individuality in his present environment."[46] The idea of "infinitude" presented here is defined by Iqbāl thus: "Life is one and continuous."[47] One implied meaning is its continuity and, hence, infinitude, through the generations. Another is: man and God contain energy modes, uniting them, which theme is to be connected with his thesis that time is not repetitive, equals life and *vice versa*, so that time ultimately can be transposed into motion. His is a theory of "psychic energy" symbolised by activity which he coupled with the Qur'ānic teaching of vicegerency, and which he based on Einstein's relativity doctrine. Man's duties are not seen by the writer of *Asrār-i-Khudī* in terms of a Kantian ethics, but as religious attitudes-acts whose essence is a non-mechanistic spontaneous flow of movement. The result is a unique doctrine of salvation based on the "intensity of his activity as an ego,"[48] through which man manifests his piety and can gain his salvation, for which he "is only a candidate".[49] Salvation signifies that he has accepted life's challenge, pain, and that he has triumphed. That it takes place in time is obvious; as Iqbāl asserted in one of his letters:

> "Time is a great blessing. While it kills and destroys it also expands and brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in his present surroundings."[50]

43. Ibid., p. 116.
44. Ibid., p. 119.
45. Ibid., p. 123.
46. Ibid., p. 122.
47. Ibid., p. 123.
48. Ibid., p. 117.
49. Ibid., p. 119.
50. Letter (dated 21 June 1936) to Saiyidain, in Sh. 'Aṭā' Ullāh, Ed., *Iqbāl Nāmah* (Lahore: n.d., Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), Vol. I, p. 316.

Salvation then depends on the ego's response to his environment. The nature of the response affords a measure of judgment on past actions and future possibilities. "It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past action and to judge the possibilities of his future."[51] Evil conduct implies lack of action, i.e. a passive toleration of intolerable circumstances. Stating of his time that "it is certainly not an empty age," he insists that all must participate in the struggle to gain freedom, meaning: salvation in the political sense.[52] He fought hard the "Allah wills it" view, for Allah did *not* predestine anything, and certainly not his people's or any group's subjugation, defined by Iqbāl as " the fall of the power to act freely".[53] For him, "the idea of destiny [*imān*] is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind; it is living assurance begotten of a rare experience."[54] It consists of a "vital way of appropriating the universe" *versus* an intellectual mode.[55] The intellect as shown above plays an important role in guiding human vitality which role is spiritual as it leads mankind towards its immortality. Dr Vahid has pointed out that Iqbāl presented a "doctrine of conditional immortality . . . held by prominent thinkers in the past like Spinoza, Fichte, Goethe and Lotze, but the criteria proposed by them for immortality were vague and indefinite. On the other hand, the criterion proposed by Browning and Iqbāl is well defined, significant, and clear; for both it consists of fruitful activity."[56]

> "The eternity of God is not a recompense for His actions,
> For Him the eternity is elemental and needs no seeking;
> But that eternity is better which a borrowed soul
> Wins for itself through love and frenzy!"[57]

51. *Reconstruction*, p. 117.
52. Saiyidain, in *Iqbal As A Thinker*, op. cit., p. 55.
53. *Reconstruction*, p. 109.
54. Ibid. 55. Ibid.
56. Vahid, op. cit., p. 209.
57. *ZA*, p. 237; Vahid, op. cit., p: 209:

Love and respect for Allah's teachings, Muḥammad's own example, for self and one's co-religionists form the ideological bases of Dr Iqbāl's doctrine of activity and immortality.

That the political theme has a tight connection with his eternity doctrine is implied in the word "Reconstruction," which is a part of the *Lectures'* formal title. Although they primarily are concerned with stirring the Muslims to re-examine and reinterpret their religious, legal, philosophical, political and even social traditions, so as to allow for an evolutionary viewpoint, the *Lectures* are not devoid of political allusions. Love and respect of self and others does not tolerate slavery so that the term "reconstruction" in a political sense also means resurrection. Those remaining passive live in Hell which he described as "the painful realization of one's failure as a man." [58] Denying that "eternal damnation" is taught by the Qur'ān, he linked it with an attitude of renunciation unchracteristic of Islam with its positive philosophy of life and man. The title and the substance of his *Lectures* —which he might not have given had he been certain that they would not have any influence—contain a "melioristic" note:

> "The teaching of the Quran, which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognizes a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil." [59]

That, as he himself said, also is the message which he gave in his *Jāvīd Nāmah*. Finally, immortality has two levels: an earthly and a post-terrestrial, linked together through the integrated mind-body activity (energy). Continuity as postulated in Iqbāl's immortality doctrine has more than one meaning: Life which is "a wave of consciousness of continuity"[60] links the age of Muḥammad with the present and the future, that of an earlier free Muslim society with one now in bondage, but soon to become liberated and timeless when resurrected. Man in time and man beyond time: the mortals are eternal through the generations and become immortal through their actions which will commemorate them long after they have passed away. What happens after

58. *Reconstruction*, p. 123. 59. Ibid., p. 81. 60. *RB*, p. 62.

death remains a mystery. Although there is "disintegration of what appears to specify his individuality in his present environment," it is not unlikely that "the universe" may "maintain in some other way the kind of individuality necessary for the final working out of human action."[61] Sufism shows that death may not mean the end of "psychic consciousness," but a state of transition (*barzakh*), "in which the ego catches a glimpse of fresh aspects of Reality, and prepares himself for adjustment to these aspects."[62] The "adjustment" means "a change in our attitude towards time and space," which are but interpretations.[63] The *fanā'* of the mystics has been reworked by Iqbāl in his doctrine of death and the "life" beyond. Their "passing away" through the merging of their mind with Deity, losing consciousness of self, time and space momentarily, and thus gaining in selfhood is unlike Iqbāl's stress on "some kind of local reference or empirical background."[64] He uses here a philosophical word having a very specific connotation: that of scientific observation and experimentation. He chose this term for a particular reason: it implies *ijtihād* in all areas of thought and life. It is directly contrary to the stereotype Ṣūfī retreating from the world and exclusively aiming at obtaining "union" with God. Another major distinction is that for Sufism the final "union" after death means the end of life. Iqbāl stated time and again that death does not exist and that: "Life is one and continuous."[65] Connecting these two different but interrelated statements with his energy thesis, an entirely novel doctrine of salvation emerges: the individual is transformed into energy modes without losing his selfhood while in the flesh; through this transformation he becomes one with Deity. Being essentially a part of creation, itself viewed in terms of a non-mechanistic, freely active flow of dynamic power (*mana*), the ego upon "the disintegration of . . . his individuality" at death merges with universal energy which at one or another time—how, is a mystery—is reformed into some kind of "individuality" or what Iqbāl calls "the 'second

61. *Reconstruction*, p. 122.
62. Ibid., p. 120.
63. Ibid., p. 120.
64. Ibid., p. 122.
65. Ibid., p. 123.

creation' by associating it with some kind of body, however subtle it may be."[66] Although this sentence shows his attempt to affirm the Qur'ānic doctrine of immortality, his is a deviation from it. His doctrine is unique by adapting the old adage that mortals made of dust (clay) return to dust (earth), whence life forever springs anew, to Einstein's theory according to which, as stated, matter transforms into energy and *vice versa*. Paradise for Iqbāl lies not in heaven, but on earth, which is *the* centre of human life and activity, of suffering and joy. It is the scene of three developmental stages: transformation, mental growth, and salvation. He said "that in view of the past history of man it is highly improbable that his career should come to an end with the dissolution of his body." LIFE continues with MAN'S forward look and march. "Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illumination from an Infinite Reality which 'every moment appears in a new glory.'"[67] The parallelism between man and God is conceived in terms of both constituting energy and, hence, ETERNITY. These "fresh illuminations" enrich "the whole man," his life, his world![68]

66. Ibid., p. 122.
67. Ibid., p. 123, for these quotations.
68. Ibid., p. 185.

5

UNIVERSALITY IN IQBĀL'S THOUGHT

"We live by forming ideals
We glow with the sunbeams of desire!"[1]

Crying for change which constitutes the Muslims' lawful redemption under God, these verses nevertheless bear a universal message. They and the following quotation show that Iqbāl, despite his primary concern with uplifting his co-religionists, addressed himself also to humanity at large:

"You seek peace of mind, peace of mind means naught,
To shed tears for the weal of fellow-beings is something."[2]

The first line means two things: since life is restless activity, there cannot be truly peace of mind which rejects statism; such peace is impossible, given the political circumstances of the time. A third meaning comprising a philosophical view of history is that world conditions never permit anyone to have peace of mind. The next line, too, conveys several ideas. It is *particularistic* because it insists on every Muslim's feelings concern for all members of the Islamic brotherhood. It is *universalistic* for the key-word is "fellow-beings" comprising Muslims and non-Muslims. It is *moralistic* as it teaches that love which stirs the emotions is central to life. It is a subtle critique of the British who did not "shed tears for the weal of" their Indian fellow-men whereby they degrade their own humanness. The connection between these two verses lies in their universal import. Lastly, they can be regarded as autobiographical, because Dr Iqbāl had no "peace of mind,"[3]

1. *AK* (Nicholson's translation), p. 27; Wm. Th. de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York: 1958, Columbia University Press), p. 754.

2. *JN*, p. 49; S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 74.

3. Cf. p. *JN*, 79; *BJ*, p. 181; S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore; 1964, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 98.

and because he felt deeply for man.[4]

Love of God, self and others; self-respect, respect for Prophets, sainted teachers and all members of the human race; tolerance; courage; idealism: these and other principles are not the exclusive property of the Muslims; they belong to Mankind! It is not necessary, therefore, to look down upon non-Muslims despite their lack of piety:

"Sin it is to utter a single harsh word,
For the believer and the unbeliever are alike children of God;
The man of God learns his ways from God Himself,
He is gracious alike to the believer and the unbeliever;
Take belief and unbelief into the compass of the heart!"[5]

Since "love is the universal law of life,"[6] and the Islamic community's priceless heritage, and because it reorders the fragments of a world torn apart by political bungling,[7] the Muslims moved by love must use it "to illumine the world".[8] Asking: "What is the ultimate end of Nature and the inner secret of Islam?" Dr Iqbāl answered: "the universality of brotherhood and the abundance of love!"[9] Being *the* principle of fraternity and order, it permits respect for other faiths and cultures, thereby preventing hatred, religious persecution and destructive wars. Wrote Iqbāl:

"The object of my Persian *Masnavis* is not to attempt an advocacy of Islam. My real purpose is to look for a better social order and to present a universally acceptable ideal of life and of action before the world, but it is impossible for me, in this effort to outline this ideal, to ignore the social system and values of Islam. . . ."[10]

As a Muslim, he obviously regarded Islam's values and ideas of democracy and brotherhood to be supreme. Aware of the Western pull, he had to emphasise his root culture. Emphasising

4. The terms "soul," "man," "ego," which he frequently uses in his poetry, despite their immediate frame of reference, are universal in scope.

5. K G. Saiyidain, "Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought," in *Iqbal As A Thinker* (Lahore: 1966, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 104.

6. *RB*, p. 37.

7. Ibid., p. 32.

8. *JN*, p. 28. Cf. his *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*, pp. 65 and 67.

9. Quoted by Saiyidain, "Progressive Trends . . .," op. cit., p. 67.

10. Quoted in ibid., p. 76.

ing Islam's spiritual principles at a time when it lost its political supremacy, he had to insist that Islam had no " 'abstract conception of human unity.' . . . As a social movement the aim of Islam was to make the idea a living factor in the Muslim's daily life, and thus silently and imperceptibly to carry it towards fuller fruition."[11] The prohhetic viewpoint of a universal conversion to the idealistic and spiritual idea of life as taught by Islam is merged with Hegelian dialectics and idealism in Iqbāl's doctrine of universalism. He said, for instance, that "the idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life" and that the West lacks spirituality.[12] How then can it guide mankind toward a better future?

"Humanity needs three things to-day—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis."[13]

Islam contains these "ultimate principles" so that the Muslim after having reconstructed "his social life in the light of" these can apply them to the world at large. It thus will build "that spiritual democracy" and international brotherhood "which is the ultimate aim of Islam."[14]

Professor Saiyidain's comment is:

"There are, then, the three qualities which genuine 'Progressivism' postulates—a faith in the ultimate goodness of human nature and the consequent belief that life is worth living and striving for; a breadth of outlook and sympathy which refuses to be bound by racial, geographical and sectarian differences and an active identification of the self with the causes of social justice and a willingness to strive for them to the best of one's ability. . . . [This is] progressivism as I have defined it."[15]

It is "progressivism" according to Dr Iqbāl's formulation, formidable and complex in substance and mode of construction.

11. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: 1944, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 141.

12. Ibid., p. 179.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., p. 180.

15. Saiyidain, "Progressive Trends . . ." op. cit., p 49.

For him, resurrection begins with the individual self, extends to all aspects of the ego's life, expands to the *Millat* and, finally, to the World Community, and as the ego, the Muslim and the universal brotherhood travel like a caravan through time and space, their idealism, spirituality, activism, courage and perseverance will earn them immortality.

> "I am transitory ; make me immortal,
> I am from earth, make me divine." 16

16. *JN*, p. 5 ; Vahid, op. cit., p. 145.

EPILOGUE

The *Lectures* known as *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* together with *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (1908),[1] both written in English prose, form Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl's most important philosophical legacy. To these prose writings must be added his articles, letters,[2] *Notebook*, speeches, largely in English also, apart from private statements.[3] He composed the major and a very significant portion of his work in Persian, some in Urdu, poetry. It is particularistic, for it is addressed to the Muslims and enshrines the ideals of Islam. It is autobiographical, because it reveals his views and moods at specific moments in his life. It is humanitarian and universal, as it teaches love, self-development, perseverance, dignity and freedom, which are ideals shared by mankind.

"The humanitarian ideal is always universal in poetry and philosophy, but if you make it an effective ideal and work it out in actual life, you must start, not with poets and philosophers, but with a society exclusive in the sense of having a creed and well-defined outline, but ever enlarging its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to my belief, is Islam. This society has so far proved itself a more successful opponent of the race-idea which is probably the hardest barrier in the way of the humanitarian ideal. . . . Since I find that the idea of nationality based on race or territory is making headway in the world of Islam, and since I fear that the Muslims, losing sight of their own ideal of a universal humanity, are being lured by the idea of a territorial nationality, I feel it is my duty as a Muslim, *and as a lover of all mankind*, to remind them of their true function in the evolution of mankind."[4]

Dr Iqbāl agreed with leading Indo-Muslim literati contemporary with or preceding him that: (1) religion is fundamental to life;

1. His earlier book on Economics must be added thereto.

2. A number of them are lost.

3. Not all of these have been put on paper, so that they, too, are lost.

4. S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore : 1964, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 98. Italics ours.

(2) loyalty to Islam is the supreme rule for a Muslim; (3) Islam permits progress; (4) a modernist education is acceptable only on condition that it breeds neither indifference to the Islamic heritage nor cold and even false intellectualism; (5) the Muslim must be reawakened—for which purpose Iqbāl chose the psychological mode found in his *Asrār-i-Khudī*; (6) he did not reject Amīr 'Alī's and Ḥālī's view that, in order to revitalise their compatriots, they ought to be made conscious of their great past, which will prove to them that they have latent talents and that Islam permits their development—but this awareness must not blind them to the concrete realities,[5] (7) the Muslim must be injected with a heavy dose of hope, courage and confidence necessary to tackle the heavy tasks lying ahead of him and to reap the rewards of his actions—a theme found partly in the *Jāvīd Nāmah* and strewn across many diverse poems[6] and other works; (8) an individual cannot do it alone, but must join with others to improve their unhappy lot—which is the teaching presented in the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*:

> "For the individual to be bound to society is a blessing;
> It is in community that his worth is perfected" ;[7]

(9) territorial division does *not* undermine the *Millat* founded by Muḥammad, an equally strong theme in the *Rumūz*, the *Bāng-i-Darā*, *et al.*; (10) the Muslim brotherhood, the Muslim world with its ideals and culture will be eternal if founded on "love and frenzy,"[8] themes permeating the *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* and, in fact, all of his works; (11) as a member of humanity, the Muslim must have "respect for Man".[9] Ḥālī may be cited for a comparison:

> " 'This alone is devotion; this is true religion and faith,
> That man should help his brother man."[10]

5. *RB*, p. 36. Cf. *JN*, p. 84.
6. For instance, *AK*, p. 28; *PM*, p. 158; *ZA*, p. 9.
7. *RB*, p. 97.
8. *ZA*, p. 237; S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: 1967, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 209; *PM*, pp. 98, 99, 158.
9. *JN*, p. 75.
10. *Musaddas*, as quoted by S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1965, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 79.

Love and activism may be said to constitute two chief pillars on which Dr Iqbāl's thought is based ; the other two are democracy and social concern. His dynamistic conception of creation, life and man allows for his thesis, psychological in substance, but originally derived from the notion of biological evolution, that the self has inner powers which it can and must develop to attain its fulfilment (*khudī*). He saw its fulfilment in a psychological, a religio-cultural and in a cosmic way, reading the history of the universe itself as dynamically unfolding. He, himself, said:

"Thus all lines of Muslim thought converge on a dynamic conception of the universe. This view is further reinforced by Ibn-i-Maskwaih's theory of life as an evolutionary movement, and Ibn-i-Khaldun's view of history."[11]

That Dr Iqbāl regarded the *psychological* method implying ego's stirring and awakening to its hidden vitality as primary explains why he opened his trilogy with the "Secrets of the Self".[12] He held concerning the *religio-cultural* path that once the self has awakened to its potentialities and the negatives of its life, its further development, plans and actions must be in accordance with its own faith determining forms of life and thought. Anyone not being fed from his own sources loses his identity and is reduced to a beggar.[13] That is why he, a modernist, had to pound on the thesis that Islam is not static, but progressive, and that it has its own inner structure and modes to adapt to change, on which its history provides abundant examples. That is why he also insisted that Islam acknowledges at once the universal and the concrete, the abstract and the utilitarian, the rationalistic, the scientific, the religio-legal and the philosophical domains. Third, that is why he indefatigably preached that creativity, originality,

11. *Reconstruction*, p. 138. Ibn Miskawaih (d. 1030 C.E.) was a philosopher and a historian, of whose work: *Al-Fauz al-Aṣghar* Dr Iqbāl gives the major ideas (ibid., pp. 133-34).

12. As the ideas in this work of his have been analysed in some detail, and some additional comments follow, there is no need to make further statements.

13. *Su'āl* or "asking," which degrades man. *Vide* article by L.S. May in *Iqbal* (Lahore), Vol. VI, No. 3, January 1958, pp. 28-60, reference to *su'āl*, p. 46.

adaptability, are essentially Islamic: "As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view."[14] His *cosmic* conception embraces the idea of the development of *all* selves to their utmost, whereby the psychological merges with the religio-cultural and social, carrying man toward his ultimate destiny. It includes not only the will to self-exertion, but to enter the freedom struggle, which combines the psychological with the religio-social, meaning the courage and ability to throw off the '*ulamā's* yoke, and the political, viz. liberation from English rule, both comprising terrestrial salvation. This freedom struggle then ends in resurrection, which *essentially* "is not an external event. It is the consummation of a life process within the ego."[15] The resurrection being the result of inner psychological processes is terrestrial. It signifies reconstruction of Muslim life and thought, exemplified by political sovereignty (Pakistan) and all other freedoms. It also reveals the inner character of life: constant activism to protect them and continue to build. It finally points to the eternity of life and man. "It was only natural and perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Quran, that Rumi regarded the question of immortality as one of biological evolution and not a problem to be decided by arguments of a purely metaphysical nature. . . . "[16] Activity finally leads to a *post-mortem*, but unknown, form of salvation. It consists of deeds (energy), "*i.e.*, the control of psychological and physiological processes with a view to tune up the ego for an immediate contact with the ultimate Reality," which undoubtedly "is, and cannot but be, individual in form and content; yet the deed, too, is liable to be socialized when others begin to live through it with a view to discover for themselves its effectiveness as a method of approaching the Real" (God).[17]

The four themes of self-development, self-exertion, reconstruction, freedom, each being a preceding stage and necessary

14. *Reconstruction*, p. 146. Cf. ibid , p. 197. It is the opening line of Ch. VI: "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam". Italics ours.

15. Ibid., p. 120. 16. Ibid., p. 121. 17. Ibid., p. 185.

for achieving immortality, form an intricate unity in Iqbāl's thought in spite of their diversity. The reason for it lies in Iqbāl's "concept which reconciles the opposition of permanence and change, of time regarded as an organic whole or eternity, and time regarded as atomic,"[18] the latter view of time implying "life in the making."[19] Iqbāl's thesis that "time is . . . not a mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion,"[20] that God is "creative,"[21] and that "every moment in the life of Reality is original,"[22] permitted him to postulate a non-predestinarian viewpoint. In an open universe, without "a fixed futurity, a pre-determind, unalterable order of specific events which" has *not* "once for all determined the directions of God's creative activity,"[23] man can move forward freely.

"If history is regarded merely as a gradually revealed photo of a predetermined order of events, then there is no room in it for novelty and initiation. Consequently, we can attach no meaning to the word creation, which has a meaning for us only in view of our own capacity for original action. The truth is that the whole theological controversy relating to predestination is due to pure speculation with no eye on the spontaneity of life, which is a fact of actual experience."[24]

Vitality, spontaneity and originality can be ascribed to the nature and life of Deity and of man. It is, therefore, the human's duty as taught by the Qur'ānic doctrine of vicegerency to act, which for Iqbāl marks supreme piety and the highest state in life. As part of his views on Divine Vicegerency (*Niyābat-i-Ilahī*), he considered the Divine vicegerent (*Nā'ib*)

"'as the most complete Ego, the goal of humanity, the action of life both in mind and body; in him the discords of our mental life become a harmony. The highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason, become one. . . . For the present he is a mere ideal; but the evolution of humanity is tending toward the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals. . . .'"[25]

18. Ibid., p. 76. 19. Ibid,, p. 75. 20. Ibid., p. 50.
21. Ibid., p. 51. 22. Ibid., p. 50. 23. Ibid., p. 78.
24. Ibid., p. 79.

25. Iqbal Singh. *The Ardent Pilgrim* (Bombay : 1951, Orient Longmans), pp. 92-93, quoting from Iqbāl's art. cit. on "Democracy".

Their uniqueness lies not in their race, but in their having passed through the first two stages of obedience to law and of sell-control to third and highest called Divine Vicegerency.[26] It reflects Iqbāl's own assimilation of Hegelian dialectics into Islamic theory. The fact that man must aspire to this goal is part of Qur'ānic ethics into which he poured the Kantian "ought".

His statement that vicegerency is humanity's goal reflects four other aspects in his thought: (*a*) activity is social; (*b*) it is unitary; (*c*) mankind's basic unity; (*d*) the theme of universality.

That *activity is social* is the message of the Qur'ān, for its idea of brotherhood implies common needs and common tasks to fulfil them. "The life communal is alone secured," a verse from the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*, implies: (*i*) it is in community that the individual can develop his potentialities; (*ii*) solitary life negates societal values; (*iii*) stresses individual salvation and breeds egotism; (*iv*) undermines the *Millat*. Living in community solidifies the *Millat* and engenders social concern.

That *activity is unitary* basically derives from the doctrine of Divine Unity which, in turn, bred the principle of *Tawḥīd* on which the *Millat* itself is based. One idea symbolised by the *Millat* is that all men aspire to self-assertion, freedom, better living conditions, so that they share in the ideals and obligations. Their "submission to discipline," obedince to law, their "assimilation of life and power",[27] are humanity's other important pedagogic, social, political and religious purposes. These show the singularity of humanity's aim and activity.

From the teaching of Divine Unity follow Dr Iqbāl's theses of the Islamic State and man's unity. Taking his cue from Muḥammad's precept as founder of the *Millat* and from past Caliphal experience, he said on the first subject:

"It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam in neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."[28]

26 Cf. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 41.
27. *Reconstruction*, p. 181, for these two quotations.
28. Ibid., p. 159.

He wove his thesis reconciling the newer idea of distinct Muslim States[29] with the older doctrine of the *Millat* out of the following principles: (*i*) Islam means loyalty to the religion revealed by Allah to Muḥammad; (*ii*) its strength and societal structure is not derived from any political source, but from God; (*iii*) the brotherhood or the *Millat*, therefore, is spiritual, not secular, in nature; (*iv*) the *Millat* was *the* foundation of the Caliphate; (*v*) consequently, it did *not* disappear with the Caliphate's end; (*vi*) ergo, the birth of Muslim States does not essentially affect the spiritual character and unity expressed through the *Millat*; (*vii*) loyalty to the Qur'ānic precepts and love for Muḥammad the Prophet of Islam remain henceforth *the* obligations of all born in the *Millat*; (*viii*) it is the overarching structure tying all Muslim States together in an indivisible eternal brotherhood. Acknowledging the influence of "secular nationalism," he stressed the supreme significance for the Islamic world of "spiritual nationalism," which ignores boundaries and whose primary pivot remains the Islamic faith with its brotherhood theme. That is why Dr Iqbāl in the above-cited remark made two years before his famous 1930 speech referred to the new Muslim world as a "League of Nations". It implies his hope and his warning that it is a novel form and not a repudiation of the *Millat*.[30]

Dr Iqbāl's thesis that *mankind is one* is an expansion of the *Millat* doctrine which, as stated, ultimately is based on the principle of Divine unity:

"From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and

29. India, for example, was a part of the old Caliphate; Egypt became semi-autonomous in the nineteenth century. They nevertheless covered the large part of the Middle East.

30. He undoubtedly had in mind Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism, nineteenth-century movements based on the teaching of *Tauḥid*, whose force at present may be seen in Egypt's repeated attempts to effect a unity between it, Syria and other Muslim countries. He repudiated the implication of 'Abd ar-Rāziq's thesis that the Caliphate's death means the *Millat's* end. Iqbāl thus carries Professor Barkātullah's answer to the question : does the *Millat* die as a result ? to a conclusion with his strong : "No," because the *Millat* being not political, but spiritual, did not perish (*vide* L.S. May, *Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* [Lahore: 1970, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf], pp. 227 ff.).

sustains all egos follows the essential unity of all mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations, and tribes, according to the Quran, is for purposes of identification only."[31]

As the Muslim bond is not fractured by the "new" politics, so the human bond is not broken despite the large variety of races, cultures, faiths. He saw all of mankind in pilgrimage—all in slavery, be it to material things or under foreign masters—all searching for answers to life—all longing for salvation, be it understood in a religious or in a political sense. Mankind's unity also originates from the fact that it shares in the emotional, including the spiritual, life; in the psychological and the metaphysical; in the scientific and the socio-economic; in the artistic, another form of self-expression, and the cultural. *All these areas* ultimately fall under the heading of "Religion" in the sense that they form part of created life, itself spiritual in origin:

"As an emotional system of unification it [Islam] recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity. Blood-relationship is earth-rootedness. The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible only with the perception that *all human life is spiritual in its origin*. Such a perception is creative of fresh loyalties without any ceremonial to keep them alive, and makes it possible for man to emancipate himself from the earth."[32]

The starting point for the recognition that mankind is one being spiritual and psychological relates to the view that they originate from a single source. The psychological search furthermore overcomes religious dissension, permitting humanity to reunite and singly march towards the "Messianic Era". " 'Thus the Kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals presided over by the most unique individual on earth. Nietzsche had a glimpse of this ideal race, but his atheism and aristocratic prejudices marred his whole conception.' "[33] Iqbāl's cosmic view merges here with his psychological and political approach. Democracy for him then signified not only

31. *Reconstruction*, pp. 93-94; cf. also p. 140.

32. Ibid., p. 146. Italics ours.

33. Iqbal Singh, op. cit., quoting from Iqbal's cited 1916 article on "Muslim Democracy".

equality of all men under God, characterised by him as "the most unique individual". It also means their essential unity which is expressed by such words as "mankind" and "humanity". "The new culture finds the foundation of world-unity in the principle of 'Tauhid.'"[34] The sentence implies that Dr Iqbāl regarded "world-unity" to be spiritual, not political, in nature. The reason for it is that it has its roots in God, one in His nature, Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the universe and of the genus Man embracing all of his diversities.

The doctrine of unity in its various aspects with the intimately connected theme of spirituality points to universality. This idea, too, has various aspects: *anthropological*, because man is omnipresent on earth,[35] *psychological*, for the mind is an essential constitution of all individuals (and of animals); *social*, as relatively few persons live apart from their society; *metaphysical*, since those in the East and in the West have developed particular thought systems and, in a very broad sense, the majority has a "philosophy of life"; *spiritual*, as seen from the attempts amongst all human groups, past and present, to answer their quest for immortality in religious terms.[36] Furthermore, Man lives amidst Nature and in History which, together with "inner experience," constitute three universal "sources of knowledge". Being created, they are spiritual in character and, therefore, rejected neither by the Qur'ān[37] nor by other revelations. Psychic energy, initiative, belief in God,[38] love, trust and obedience are other universal traits and goals. They reveal the structure of mankind's life. They are amongst the Qur'ān's cardinal principles so that its teachings are universal.

"The pure brow of the principle of Tauhid has received more or less an impress of heathenism, and the universal and impersonal character of the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost

34. *Reconstruction*, p. 147.

35. In a subsequent century, he may be omnipresent on the moon and other heavenly bodies.

36. Animism means belief in gods or in spirits and in a spirit world, the second being the older religious form.

37. *Vide Reconstruction*, p, 127; cf. also p. 130.

38. Until the arrival of Communism which deifies man and his State.

through a process of localization. The only alternative open to us, then, is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality, and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social, and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality."[39]

Dr Iqbāl's doctrine of universality can be interpreted in the traditional sense: the Qur'ān following upon the Torah and the New Testament and incorporating their principles enables Jews and Christians to convert to the universal religion of Islam.[40] It also can be seen in socio-political terms, which for him had a religious foundation, in order to attempt the creation of a new world order based on "real culture" which "is respect for Man".[41] His longing for human dignity pitted against the European disregard of it caused him to cry out against suppression:

> "'O Himalaya, O Attock, O Ganges, how long will you exist like this—without colour, without lustre?
>
> * * *
>
> "'No one distinguishes the mirage from the rippling waters;
> Oh for a revolution to change all this!'"[42]

This outcry by a defender of human rights caused Dr Saiyidain to ask: "Is it fair to characterise such a poet as reactionary?"[43] The answer by a freedom-lover obviously is "no," while the colonialists replied to this question with a firm "yes". Even Muslim orthodoxy, already opposed to modernism, to Dr Iqbāl's unique psychological and philosophical approach as presented in his doctrines of the self and immortality, for example, and to his views on *ijmā'*, *ijtihād* and other legal principles, neither accepted easily his political "reactionism". To reiterate three major reasons for their standpoint: their *laissez-faire* state of mind, itself

39. *Reconstruction*, p. 156.

40. xli. 43; cf. xxvii. 76 and Note 3309 on p. 996 ('Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī's translation).

41. *JN*, p. 58; cf. p. 129.

42. *BJ* as quoted by Saiyidain, "Progressive Trends, . . ." in *Iqbal As A Thinker* (Lahore: 1966, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf), p. 60. The word "revolution" (*inqilāb*) is repeated thrice in this verse.

43. Saiyidain, "Progressive Trends, . . ." op. cit., p. 55.

based on the "God wills" idea, the Aligarh co-operation theory,[44] and the fear of British and Hindu reprisals against India's already downtrodden Muslims.

Dr Iqbāl's firm commitment to freedom and particularly his teachings about the self, which, in turn, directly relate to his political activity doctrine, have universal meaning and appeal. Sensitive to the accusation that the character of his works and his philosophical "apologetic" stand reflected too "sectional"[45] an orientation, he replied to his critics that his being a Muslim caused him to find answers to the foundations of an ideal society in Islam. He nevertheless stressed not only that Islam was a universal faith, but that he, personally, was "a lover of mankind" and that his poetry—as all poetry—embodies the universal "humanitarian idea". Various other statements of his, viz. mankind's unity despite its ethnic, cultural and geographical diversity, the spiritual origins of man, life, creation, and that a person must "shed tears for the weal of fellow-beings,"[46] indicate, as Vahid also implies,[47] Dr Iqbāl's deep feelings for humanity.

His *self-image* furthermore points to his universality. He said, for instance, that his and any artist's work must be concerned with Man:

> "'The poet must not keep aloof from the stress and struggle of life,
> For that type of poetry only leads to the downfall of nations."[48]

Therefore, Dr (Sir) Muḥammad Iqbāl did *not* wish to be remembered as a "mere" poet:

44. The "Aligarh theory" in which fear undoubtedly played, a part, aimed at changing the British negative view of the Muslims after 1857 and gaining their aid in saving the Indo-Muslim community from complete decay. That it was not fully successful shows from the latter's growing apathy and their leaders' subsequent forceful demands, among which Iqbāl's voice became the loudest and most persistent.

45. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 233.

46. Cf. *AK*, p. 10: "For man my eyes shed tears for nights" (Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 197).

47. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 233.

48. *DK*, p. 73; Vahid, *Sudies in Iqbal*, p. 8.

"'Don't you think that I am inebriate without wine,
And indulge in weaving yarns like poets of yore,
You will find no good in that low person
Who accuses me of being a poet!'"[49]

His self-image was that of a "seer" and so he warned his audiences that they should not take his poetry lightly. The pertinent verses may be cited again:

"'Don't regard my confused singing as mere poetry,
I happen to know the secrets of the wine-shop.'"[50]

The "wine-shop"—the imagery is taken from Persian Sufi literature—symbolises Life into whose "secrets" he, endowed with a deeper understanding bestowed upon him by God, has pierced.

"'The music of stars reached my ears,
The veiled truths stood revealed.'"[51]

His rhymed compositions consequently are not "mere" poetic songs written chiefly for his and his readers' entertainment. They have been put on paper with serious intent:

"'. . . Verse-making is but a device
To attract the unbridled camel into line.'"[52]

He used his poetry as a "rod" with which to stir his people into action. His self-image in fact is that of a prophet predicting the outcome of events as the following verse from his *Jāvīd Nāmah* implies: "'This book is from another heaven.'"[53] He could not openly declare himself to be a prophet because Islam regarded Muḥammad the "Seal of the Prophets"; that is why he preferred to call himself a "seer" or "a leader with vision" fulfilling a God-given task.[54] His works despite their poetic form bear an extremely important message: the need for the "Reconstruction" of Islamic thought and life which he correctly predicted would come true.

49. *ZA*, p. 204 ; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 219.
50. *BJ*, p. 76 ; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 29 ,*Vide BD*, p. 306.
51. *JN*, p. 23, Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 167.
52. *ZA*, p. 79 ; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 219.
53. *JN*, as quoted by Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 167.
54. *PM*, p. 5, referring to Rūmī ; cf. *PM*, p; 7 ; *JN*, p. 244 ; cited by Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, respectively, pp. 83, 84, 87, Also compare *BJ*, pp. 102-03.

"The Muslims wanted Pakistan . . . because they considered themselves primarily a religious community and wanted to be free to shape their destiny in accordance with the priuciples of their cherished faith. So that the demand for Pakistan was not merely territorial but, more importantly, ideological. *And this ideological aspect, this* raison d'etre, *was largely worked out by Allama Iqbal in all of his writings, particularly in his Allahabad address of 1930.* Therein he took pains to emphasize that the Muslims living in the northwestern areas of the subcontinent should form themselves into a separate state in order that they may be able to order their lives in accordance with the dictates of their faith."[55]

His speech was the culmination of a long reflection shared with others; in his works, the freedom call of earlier Indian generations merges with his own. But his unusual psychological approach embodied in the *Asrār-i-Khudī*, his deep love for his people whom he described as a "pearl in a shell,"[56] his undying faith in them, causing his persistence despite moments of despair, sickness and fatigue,[57] and his undaunted courage in the face of his Western and, worse, Muslim critics, achieved the results which he so ardently desired. It was he who finally set "all spirits ablaze"[58] and whose "personal effort" enshrined in PAKISTAN gained for him "personal immortality".[59]

"'Thou triest to understand the secret of life,
Which lies unravelled before my eyes.
Thou art entangled in the meshes of Time and Space;
But, defying these, I soar aloft to Heaven.'"[60]

THE END

55. "Place of Religion in Curriculum," art. in Karachi *University Gazette*, Vol. VI, Nos. 10 and 11, April-May 1968, pp. 7-8. Quotation on p. 7: Italics ours.

56. *PM*, p. 246; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 87.

57. *Vide BD*, p. 35; *JN*, p. 79; I know not . . . say"; *BJ*, pp. 173-74, 183, *et al.*

58. *BJ*, p. 132; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 125. Cf. *RB*, p. 75, where Dr Iqbāl states that through Muslim "intoxication" with Muḥammad's love, "the old is set ablaze in new creation". This statement also implies his prophetic self-image.

59. Cf. *ZA*, p. 237.

60. *BD*, p. 29, the Heart replying to the Intellect; Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 204.

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